JK 6167
1911
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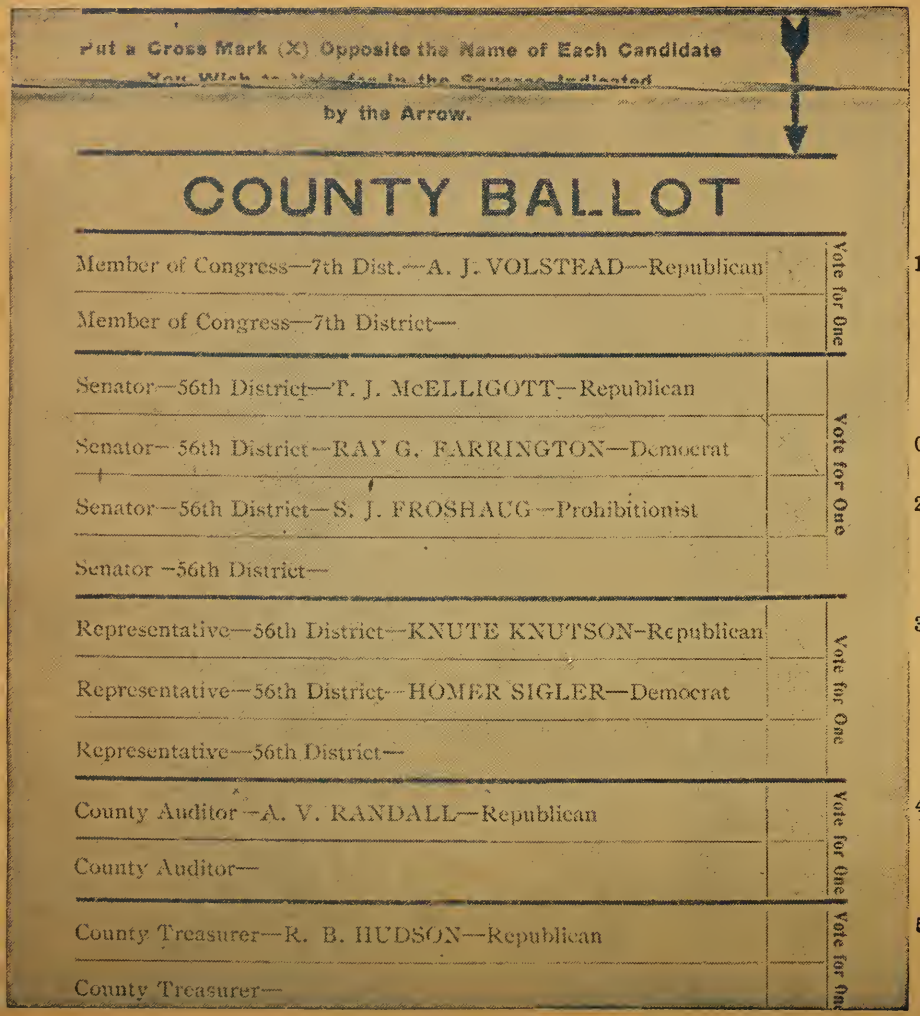
The Minnesota Legislature of 1911

LYNN HAINES



Put a Cross Mark (X) Opposite the Name of Each Candidate You Wish to Vote for in the Squares Indicated by the Arrow.

COUNTY BALLOT

Member of Congress—7th Dist.—A. J. VOLSTEAD—Republican	Vote for One
Member of Congress—7th District—	
Senator—56th District—T. J. McELLIGOTT—Republican	Vote for One
Senator—56th District—RAY G. FARRINGTON—Democrat	
Senator—56th District—S. J. FROSHAUG—Prohibitionist	
Senator—56th District—	
Representative—56th District—KNUTE KNUTSON—Republican	Vote for One
Representative—56th District—HOMER SIGLER—Democrat	
Representative—56th District—	
County Auditor—A. V. RANDALL—Republican	Vote for One
County Auditor—	
County Treasurer—R. B. HUDSON—Republican	Vote for One
County Treasurer—	

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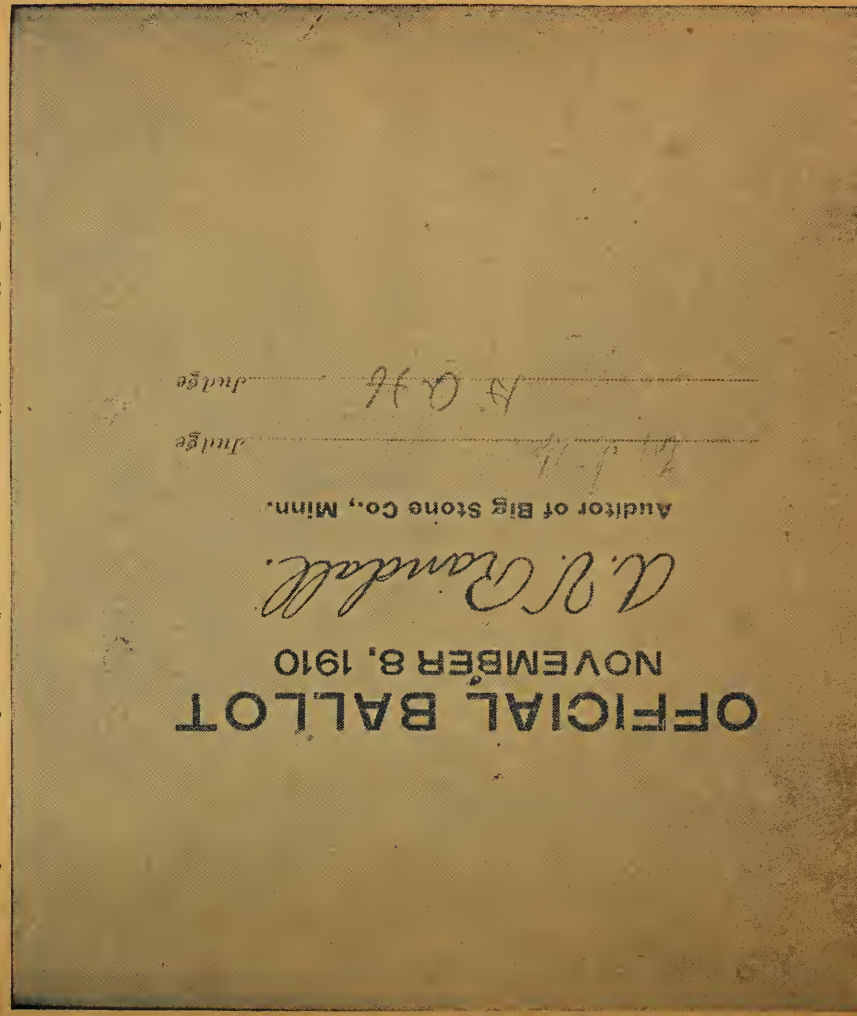

OFFICIAL BALLOT

NOVEMBER 8, 1910

A. V. Randall

Auditor of Big Stone Co., Minn.

Judge

Judge

Front and back of part of an Ortonville ballot. For explanation see Chapter on the Farrington-Froshaug contest.

THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE OF 1911

THE WRITING OF WHICH WAS MADE DIFFICULT BY THE MASKS WHICH MEN WORE. IN HALF THE CRUCIAL EVENTS OF THE SESSION "THE VOICE WAS JACOB'S VOICE, BUT THE HANDS WERE THF HANDS OF ESAU."

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LYNN HAINES
919 New York Life Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.

JK6167
1911

To the Progressives of Minnesota.

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THE DISTRICTS AND WHO REPRESENT THEM

1st District, Houston County—
Senator F. A. Duxbury
Representative F. L. Farley

2nd District, Winona County—
Senator M. J. McGrath
Representatives Charles P. Schuler, Albert Libera, and Clinton Robinson

3rd District, Wabasha—
Senator L. O. Cooke
Representative Carl S. Nygren

4th District, Olmstead—
Senator A. T. Stebbins
Representatives Henry A. Hoffman and Kerry E. Conley

5th District, Fillmore—
Senator S. A. Nelson
Representatives Thomas Frankson and John O. Rustad

6th District, Mower—
Senator C. F. Cook
Representatives F. C. J. Christie and Ralph E. Crane

7th District, Dodge—
Senator F. J. Thoe
Representative Finlay McMartin

8th District, Steele—
Senator Thomas E. Cashman
Representative Leonard Virtue

9th District, Freeborn—
Senator B. N. Anderson
Representatives H. H. Dunn and Alva Henion

10th District, Waseca—
Senator John Moonan
Representative John W. Papke

11th District, Blue Earth—
Senator S. D. Works
Representatives Charles F. Herzberg, William A. Just and Frank L. Kelly.

12th District, Faribault—
Senator Frank E. Putnam
Representative W. A. Harding

13th Dist., Martin and Watonwan—
Senator Julius E. Haycraft
Representatives Jos. Davies and H. A. Saggau

14th District, Jackson and Cottonwood
Senator Andrew C. Olson
Representatives Henry Untiedt and Elias Warner

15th District, Nobles and Murray—
Senator S. B. Bedford
Representative Herman Nelson

16th District, Rock and Pipestone—
Senator S. B. Duea
Representative Harrison White

17th Dist., Lincoln, Lyon and Yellow Medicine—
Senator O. A. Lende
Representatives K. G. Skartum, Edwin F. Whiting, and J. N. Johnson

18th Dist., Lac qui Parle and Chippewa—
Senator O. G. Dale
Representatives Albert J. Peterson and P. J. Mettling

19th Dist., Redwood and Brown—
Senator Frank Clague
Representatives Jos. R. Keefe and Albert Pfaender

20th District, Nicollet—
Senator Henry N. Benson
Representative Ole Peterson

21st District, Sibley—
Senator A. A. Poehler
Representative Geo. A. MacKenzie

22nd District, Renville—
Senator Frank Murray
Representatives N. J. Holmberg and Frank Hopkins

23rd District, Meeker—
Senator E. P. Peterson
Representative John A. Sampson

24th District, McLeod—
Senator C. R. Donaldson
Representative G. W. Brown

25th District, Carver—
Senator C. H. Klein
Representative H. R. Diessner

26th District, Scott—
Senator J. A. Coller
Representative J. J. Moriarity

27th District, Le Sueur—
Senator Harry F. Weis
Representatives Geo. H. Denzer and Martin Schwartz

28th District, Rice—
Senator F. L. Glotzbach
Representatives F. L. Klemer and Geo. D. Reed

29th District, Goodhue—
Senator A. J. Rockne
Representatives Frank Boothroyd, Geo. H. Voxland, and A. V. Anderson

30th District, Dakota—
Senator Albert Schaller
Representatives W. H. Wescott and Joseph Peters

31st District, Washington—
Senator Geo. H. Sullivan
Representatives Andrew Anderson and O. Hauge

32nd District, Chisago, Pine and Kanabec—
Senator V. L. Johnson
Representatives Henry Rines and Henry P. Webb

33rd District, First and Second Wards, St. Paul—
Senator W. W. Dunn
Representatives J. A. A. Burnquist and E. J. Fuchs

34th Dist., Third, Ninth and part of Eighth Wards, St. Paul—
Senator James Handlan
Representatives Henry W. McDonald, Robert J. Clarke and Thomas J. Greene

35th Dist., Fifth and Sixth Wards, St. Paul—
Senator Peter Van Hoven
Representatives John P. Jelinek and Jos. J. Hurley

36th Dist., Fourth, Seventh and part of Eighth Wards, St. Paul—
Senator James D. Denegre
Representatives J. D. O'Brien and C. E. Stone

37th Dist., part of Eighth Ward, Tenth and Eleventh Wards, St. Paul—
Senator J. M. Hackney
Representatives Charles N. Orr and Edwin G. Perry

38th Dist., First Ward and part of Third Ward, Minneapolis—
Senator N. A. L'Herault
Representatives M. J. Sullivan and Peter C. Thielen.

39th Dist., Second and Ninth Wards, Minneapolis and Town of St. Anthony—
Senator James T. Elwell
Representatives W. F. Kunze and F. L. Palmer

40th Dist., Fourth Ward, Minneapolis—
Senator Wm. S. Dwinnell
Representatives Wm. A. Fisher and Charles R. Fowler

41st Dist., Fifth and Sixth Wards, Minneapolis—
Senator Geo. P. Wilson
Representatives Thomas Kneeland, John G. Lennon, John P. Nash, and W. D. Washburn

42nd Dist., Seventh, Eleventh and Twelfth Wards, Minneapolis, Village of Edina and Towns of Richfield, Bloomington, Eden Prairie and Village and Town of Excelsior, Hennepin County—
Senator Manley L. Fosseen
Representatives Wm. A. Campbell and Ernest Lundeen

43rd Dist., Eighth and Thirteenth Wards, Minneapolis, and Towns of Corcoran, Greenwood, Medina, Independence, Minnetonka, Plymouth, Minnetrista, Maple Grove, Orono, and Villages Golden Valley, St. Louis Park, West Minneapolis, Minnetonka Beach and Wayzata, Hennepin County—
Senator Carl L. Wallace
Representatives L. A. Lydiard and W. I. Nolan

44th Dist., part of Third Ward and Tenth Ward, Minneapolis, and Villages of Crystal, Robbinsdale, Osseo, and Towns of Crystal Lake, Brooklyn, Champlin, Dayton, and Hassan, Hennepin County—
Senator John W. Pauly
Representatives Alex McNeil and George M. Nye

45th Dist., Isanti, Anoka, Mille Lacs and Sherburne Counties, excepting Seventh Ward, St. Cloud—
Senator C. J. Swanson
Representatives Rufus P. Morton, Robert C. Dunn, and Andrew Davis

46th Dist., Wright—
Senator Geo. C. Carpenter
Representatives August Hafften and J. F. Lee

47th Dist., Benton County, Seventh Ward, St. Cloud in Sherburne County, City of St. Cloud, and Towns of St. Cloud and LeSauk in Stearns County—
Senator J. D. Sullivan
Representative L. Wisniewski

48th Dist., Morrison and Crow Wing Counties—
Senator C. D. Johnson
Representatives C. W. Bouck and L. D. Brown

49th Dist., Seventh and Eighth Wards, City of Duluth, County of St. Louis, and all that part of township 49 north, of range 15 west, not embraced in said city; all of township 50 north, of range 15 west, and all that part of the County of St. Louis lying to the westward of the range line or the same extended between ranges 15 and 16 west, in said County—
Senator James P. Boyle
Representatives John A. Healy and C. T. Knapp.

50th Dist., Third, Fifth and Sixth Wards of the City of Duluth, County of St. Louis, and all that part of said county outside the City of Duluth and lying between the range line between ranges 13 and 16 in said County—
Senator Thomas M. Pugh
Representatives Anton Borgen and Edward R. Ribenack

51st Dist., Counties of Lake and Cook, the First, Second and Fourth Wards of the City of Duluth, in the County of St. Louis, and all that part of said County not within said City and lying to the eastward of the range line between ranges 13 and 14, or the same extended in said County—
Senator H. W. Cheadle
Representatives Chester A. Congdon and Nels S. Hillman

52nd Dist., Carlton, Aitkin, Itasca, Koochiching and Cass Counties—
Senator D. M. Gunn
Representatives C. H. Warner and T. M. Ferguson

53rd Dist., Hubbard, Wadena and Todd Counties—
Senator James Johnston
Representatives Leonard H. Rice and Wm. T. Stone

54th Dist., Stearns County, except the City of St. Cloud and towns of St. Cloud and Le Sauk—
Senator J. J. Ahmann
Representatives Frank E. Minette and A. M. Utecht

55th Dist., Kandiyohi County—
Senator C. W. Odell
Representative C. E. Johnson

56th Dist., Swift and Bigstone Counties—
Senator S. J. Froshaug
Representative Knut Knutson

57th Dist., Traverse, Grant, and Stevens Counties—
Senator Edward Rustad
Representatives J. E. Peterson and L. C. Spooner

58th Dist., Pope and Douglas Counties—
Senator C. J. Gunderson
Representatives J. J. Anderson and Iver J. Lee

59th Dist., Ottertail County—
Senator Ole O. Sageng
Representatives J. T. Johnson, R. J. Lindberg, Alex Nelson and H. A. Putnam

60th Dist., Wilkin, Clay, and Becker Counties—
Senator C. S. Marden
Representative Moyle Edwards, S. N. Lee, and Phillip S. Converse

61st Dist., Norman, Beltrami, Clearwater, Mahnomen and Red Lake Counties—
Senator A. L. Hanson
Representatives C. L. Sulerud and D. P. O'Neill

62nd Dist., Polk County—
Senator John Saugstad
Representatives Knut Aker and John Holten

63rd Dist., Marshall, Roseau and Kittson Counties—
Senator B. E. Sundberg
Representatives Donald Robertson and G. H. Mattson

THE AUTOMOBILE IN POLITICS.

Master Lewis Langley was speaking. There was confidence, and scorn, in his voice: "I should say not; ours is a Packard—and it's got six."

That was sufficient to satisfy his inquisitors. A six-cylinder Packard was patrician in price, appearance and equipment. Its name was one of standing in the social and commercial world. The possession of such a car by the father of the youngster clearly established his right to a place of prominence among these juvenile elite. For be it known, that was the issue in the present controversy. This boy was the latest arrival at camp and the others had been in some doubt as to how to receive him. Accordingly, they had proceeded to take his measure, using the only infallible standard.

Young John Percival Lane began the examination with deft indirectness. "Pa sold our 1910 Peerless," he remarked, apropos of nothing in particular.

"Didn't it run " inquired George Thomas, whose slowness of wit had not enabled him to grasp the real situation.

"Sure!" sneered J. Percival; "but it was old."

"We've got three—and the trimmest electric for mother," contributed Addison Phelps.

Four other small boys issued similar "feelers" which conveyed the information that their family cars were the Pierce-Arrow, Locomobile, Stevens-Duryea, and Thomas-Flyer. Still the newcomer was silent and John Percival Jones brought the whole matter to a head by this crucial question: "Is yours a Ford?" The answer is recorded above.

Those fifteen boys out for a month in the country ranged in ages from seven to eleven. They were a lively lot, and for hours I listened, taking notes. From a careful computation of the composite opinion of the camp, these conclusions were deduced, and they may be accepted as fairly reliable:

High priced Automobile of Current Model, Family Standing..100%
High priced Automobile of Last Year's Model, Family Standing 50%
Low priced Automobile of Any Model, Family Standing..... 10%

There were no Indians in those woods; no pirates upon the lake; nothing save the reflected ideal of money from the home. Above any boy's ability to dive, or fight, or climb, was the family motor. That was the ultimate measure of his standing now. Superiority was no longer based upon boyish bravery, or suppleness of mind and limb. Towering over all his playmates, stood the weakest and least imaginative, if perchance his father's auto was most modern and monstrous.

Do I need to suggest that if those boys were men, statesmen, they would be lured by the same call of commercialism and led, either knowingly or unknowingly, by those who possess and have power?

Perhaps we are reaching still a step beyond those boys in our citizenship. At times we seem even to approach the airship age in politics. The means and methods of administering government have been typified by the automobile—on the same plane, but brutally powerful, and too often indifferent to the needs and aspirations of the plain people. Now the tendency of politicians and their predatory masters is to rise higher than the masses. It is the purpose of this story of legislative life to point out some of the evidences of our political flight above the level of fundamental democracy.

It matters not that aeronauts in the airship of state may curse—and fall.

DEFINITIONS AND INTRODUCTIONS.

I am attempting nothing new. Every other political epoch since time began has been marked by the same conflict between special privilege and the general good. Laws and "the law's delays" have been the issue in all the contests of property with patriotism. My story is but a fleeting incident in the world-old, world-long struggle for equitable self government. Nor have the chief actors in the drama of government changed with the centuries. It is only because those who participate in this play are, for the moment, acting under new titles of stigma or of honor, that we should seek to identify them:

Special Interests.—Any form or kind of business, with a predatory purpose, or which gains through public loss, is now known politically as a special interest. All such institutions thrive upon special privileges which could not exist without immunities or favors from some department of government. Among the special interests which separately or collectively controlled the Minnesota legislature of 1911 were:

First.—The brewers and allied liquor forces. This most active and powerful of all special interests in the state directly elected many members of both branches and conducted a successful defensive fight against any and all legislation intended to curtail their business or political operations.

Second.—The United States Steel Corporation whose selfish interest in state government consists largely in escaping the payment of millions in taxes and in continuing its opportunity to secure and exploit our mineral resources.

Third.—The transportation trust which preys upon the public through watered stock and extortionate, discriminative rates.

Fourth.—A long list of such corporations as the Twin City Rapid Transit Company, the Northwestern Telephone Company, the liability insurance companies and the employers of labor generally. I am not undertaking here to name them all or to designate the legislative axe each had to sharpen for the public, but only to suggest the existence and activity of a great diversity of special interests.

These, and all the special interests not suggested, were almost without exception satisfied with conditions as they were. Their influence was obstructive and not constructive. The brewery combine was especially interested in the defeat of county option and a score of other reforms dealing directly with the liquor traffic. The steel trust was in the legislature to see that its contribution to the support of the state was not raised through a tonnage tax or any other method. The "railroad ring" was on hand to prevent the enactment of a distance tariff law and a number of minor reforms. The Twin City Rapid Transit Co. apparently accomplished the defeat of the "firemen's bill" as well as others which conflicted with their capitalistic desires. These suggestions as to the special privileges each individual interest had to protect and defend against reform legislation is incomplete but sufficient to give just a flashlight of general conditions. The "time exposure" showing more of details, will follow in subsequent chapters.

For the present, keep this main fact in mind: The success of individual special interests in killing bills in which they were directly and selfishly concerned, which aggregated a large number, many of the high-

est importance, was in itself of small consequence when compared with the power and potency of their combined opposition to all fundamental measures which would endanger them by giving larger political opportunities to the people. Led by the corrupt brewery combine, all the special interests accomplished the defeat of every vital reform affecting the corporations, save one. A partial list of defeated reforms includes:

1. The initiative and referendum.
2. The Sulerud constitutional amendment bill.
3. The recall.
4. Woman's suffrage.
5. The Oregon plan of a corrupt practices act, with publicity pamphlet.
6. Extension of primary to state officers.
7. Selection of presidential delegates by popular vote.
8. Employers' liability act.
9. Civil service.
10. The income tax.

No special interest could ever gain and maintain an advantage over the people without the assistance of ignorant or unscrupulous politicians. Predatory corporations and politicians travel together. It is not possible for any department of government to be "controlled" through exterior agencies alone. Graft from without must always be coupled with some sort of grasping from within—which brings us to the second largest fact in law-making,

The Reactionary—One who, by opposing a larger scope and scheme of democracy, represents the special interests. It does not matter about the motive or compensation. Some reactionaries serve special interests honestly because, torylike, they have no faith in the people and are opposed to giving them greater political power. Others serve the special privilege class ignorantly, being mere tools of the system. But most reactionaries are paid for their services—some in flattery, some in anticipated or fulfilled ambitions, some in local appropriations, some in political preferment or plunder, some in campaign expenses, some in business or professional opportunities—it does not matter how. The point is that the reactionary, or standpatter, or obstructionist, represents in politics the special interests and not the people.

Professional Politician—One who in his acts and inclinations adds to the special interest work of the reactionary the element of personal and political plunder. "Hold-up" legislation, brewery banquets, the guarding of clocks and legislative extravagance in its manifold ramifications are indications of this class.

These inseparable associates (1) the special interests, and (2) their legislative allies, the reactionaries and professional politicians, have been the leading anti-democratic influences in Minnesota law-making for many years. But at this last session two somewhat unusual elements became conspicuous and powerful. They were various executive departments of the state government, and a number of defeated and discredited former members of both House and Senate.

State Departments—The reactionary legislative influence of several state officials can hardly be overstated. Emissaries close to Governor Eberhart lobbied against practically all progressive reform measures. The Secretary of State stood in with the reactionaries sufficiently to escape with political plunder and have his illegal acts condoned. The insurance department was also whitewashed and retained its authority

to contribute substantially to the state and federal machine by the appointment of Tom, Dick and Harry as inspectors whose chief aim in office was too often the serving of big politicians higher up. The Railroad and Warehouse Commission secured added political opportunity to serve the reactionary state machine by the Nash weights and measures law which gives the board arbitrary authority to appoint and regulate a horde of inspectors. The Highway Commission gained in the same way through the R. C. Dunn bill providing for the appointment of many engineers or overseers of highways—and politics. There was also the State Board of Health which had to ward off an investigation and further attempted to influence the legislature to destroy more local rights in sanitation matters, bestowing them upon itself, with the result that more political positions would have been available.

These are only straws to indicate the general direction and velocity of the political wind. Like the special interests, several state departments had things to cover up, and they desired also to enlarge their fields of operation, politically and otherwise. These departments, with all their appointees and beneficiaries, comprised a powerful combination. Its forces were employed both to defend and extend its own machinery. Add this political army, wisely generaled, commissaried and equipped at public expense, to the special interest camp and it is indeed wonderful that the insurgents developed as much strength as they did.

"Alumni Coaches."—In order to understand this new element, its origin and results, a brief biennial review is necessary.

The session of 1909 was characterized by a combination which at all times controlled for the corporations and politicians. A record of men and measures was collected by the Minnesota Citizens' League and circulated as generally as limited means would allow. The publicity thus secured, together with other reform influences, resulted directly in the retirement or defeat of a large majority of the members of the old special interest-professional politician machine which had been kept intact for years in the legislature. A number of such senators and representatives retired voluntarily, most of them through fear of facing their bad records. This list includes Senators E. E. Smith, J. F. Calhoun, W. A. Hinton and D. S. Hall, and Representatives Burdett Thayer, W. A. Nolan, John Zelch, L. H. Johnson, Hugh N. Allen, J. A. Gates and several others of their political class. Added to these voluntary eliminations, the following machine members were defeated at the primaries: Senators A. S. Campbell, V. B. Seward, S. F. Alderman, E. S. Durment, C. A. Johnson, P. R. Vail and J. E. C. Robinson; and Representatives John Dalzell, Dr. J. H. Dorsey, F. E. Nimocks, F. B. Wright, Elmer A. Kling, Jos. Friedman, Henry Emmel, Alwin Rowe, T. J. Brady, Hubbard Carey, R. L. Mork and others.

The general election, November 8th, eliminated practically all the remaining members of the old stand-pat machine. Senators A. D. Stephens, George R. Laybourn, George D. French and Ray G. Farrington were defeated; and Representatives R. J. Wells, Frank T. White, F. E. Gartside, Otis F. Doyle, and Oscar F. Christensen also fell by the wayside.

The 1911 session started with that advantage for the people over its immediate predecessor—the loss of the shrewdest and most extreme reactionaries. That is how and where the "alumni system of coaching" was ushered in. The interests had lieutenants in the legislature, but the real generals were those who directed events from the outside. The "fine work" of leadership was accomplished in hotel conferences by some of the defeated, discredited manipulators of the previous session. Otherwise the results would have been different—and more democratic.

Insurgent.—One who places principle above party. A group of such progressives, a minority in both branches, were opposed to all the forces and influences of the special interests. These insurgents refused to obey the dictates of "senatorial courtesy" or any form of political conventionality when the welfare of the public was at stake. They hewed to the line at all times, being unmoved by any consideration of friendship, flattery, appropriations or patronage.

* * *

Now that the chief actors have been presented, we are ready to proceed with the play. Logically, the first appearance should be that of the Speaker of the House. His is the pivotal position in both cast and action. But in this case the regular order of the play shall be reversed. In the next few chapters I shall discuss certain effects due almost directly to the election of the Speaker favored by the special interests and professional politicians and then consider the cause itself, the Speakership. Let the curtain rise—upon a scene of political rapacity unprecedented in the history of the state.

CHAPTER I.
ABOUT THE PLUNDERBUND.

I paused here on the threshold of the story to sharpen my pencil. That operation was productive of more than a pencil point; it suggested a view point from which to approach this study of the session. As I whittled with my humble blade, I wondered about the 708 pocket knives bought by the last legislature. Although naturally not suspicious, I dropped into speculation as to whether or not that number of knives was actually purchased; and I further reflected as to whether it would be more unpatriotic to purchase only a semi-legitimate number—enough to supply each of the 120 House members and 63 senators—and have the people pay for 708, or actually to buy 708 and apportion 525 of them among the pockets of petty politicians. Were as many bought as were paid for? If so, where did they go? Who profited by the profligacy?

It was not alone a matter of knives, it was everything—fountain pens, 499 of them at an average cost of $3.13, and other items in proportionate price and quantity. Did this situation represent graft or only the grossest extravagance? I shall not attempt to answer, but will open the portals of plunder and let you wander among the facts and figures to your own conclusion.

BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

When the session assembled each member found upon his desk a large pasteboard box containing a great variety of things—some stationery, a knife, fountain pen, paste, ink, etc., etc. The vouchers for this assortment, known legislatively as "the batch," conveyed the information that the purchases were made by the Secretary of State and "authorized by law." "The batch" for both branches included 282 fountain pens —a hundred more than sufficient to supply the members—and 288 pocket knives. It is only justice to the Chief Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate, who made the later purchases of supplies, to give in detail what Mr. Schmahl bought, although it does make the subsequent acquisition of fountain pens and pocket knives seem slightly unnecessary. "The batch" was made up as follows:

Houston Pen Co.	
282 fountain pens	$846.90
The Great Western Ptg. Co.	
216 boxes rubber bands	$84.24
24 gross rubber bands	60.60
18 gross rubber bands	16.92
50 lbs. twine	10.00
3,000 blotters	10.00
17 reams paper	80.75
6 reams bond paper	9.00
5 reams paper	62.00
Louis F. Dow Co.	
150 paper boxes	$27.00
250 paper boxes	30.00
200 boxes of fasteners	15.00
200 paper box fasteners	18.00
264 packages pins	22.00
20 doz. bottles paste	60.00
McGill Warner Co.	
900 bill and journal files	$1,683.30
50,000 letterheads	250.00
48,500 envelopes	217.25
2,000 "An act" sheets	50.00
McClain & Gray Co.	
12 qts. ink	$10.00
18 doz. erasers	37.50
14 qts. ink	9.30
15 qts. library paste	9.38
240 scratch pads	27.60
216 pen holders	8.92
216 pen holders	6.30
216 blue pencils	9.55
216 pencils	7.40
864 pens	6.00
864 pens	3.90
864 pens	7.50
864 pens	6.00
Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.	
288 pocket knives	$511.92
216 wire baskets	64.80
792 pencils	29.70
200 boxes clips	20.00
240 rulers	80.00
390 paper boxes	64.40
Union Brass & Metal Co.	
24 brass card holders	$38.40

Total cost of "the batch," $4,494.61. Average per member, $24.99.

If the supposition of Representative J. T. Johnson (referred to later) as to fountain pens is true, and the same "liberal" price was paid for other things in "the batch," the state might have been saved $1,797.84 of its total cost. If unnecessary items had been eliminated almost all of that $4,494.61 bill could have been saved.

January 3d, the opening day of the session, W. F. Kunze offered this usual resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 96 to 1:

Resolved, That the Chief Clerk be, and is hereby, instructed to purchase such supplies as are necessary for expediting the business of the House, including a copy of the annotated statutes.

That constituted the Chief Clerk's license to do the things which we are to consider in this chapter. A similar resolution was adopted in the Senate, giving to the Secretary of that body the same opportunity. Some of their phenomenal purchases are grouped, the items included in "the batch" by the Secretary of State being indicated by a star:

POCKET KNIVES FOR THE HOUSE.

	No. bought	Price paid	Date paid
Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.	*192	$341.28	Jan. 23
Louis F. Dow Co.	6	21.00	Jan. 30
McGill Warner Co.	24	54.00	Feb. 2
McGill Warner Co.	42	53.50	Feb. 2
Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.	36	41.50	Feb. 2
Louis F. Dow Co.	60	150.00	Feb. 8
Louis F. Dow Co.	12	30.00	Feb. 8
McGill Warner Co.	72	150.00	Apr. 15
Totals	444	$841.28	

POCKET KNIVES FOR THE SENATE.

	No. bought	Price paid	Date paid
Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.	*96	$170.64	Jan. 23
McGill Warner Co.	72	106.00	Jan. 26
McGill Warner Co.	48	62.00	Feb. 20
McGill Warner Co.	12	13.50	Feb. 20
Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.	36	41.50	Apr. 19
Totals	264	$393.64	

Four hundred and forty-four pocket knives for 120 House members and 264 pocket knives for 63 Senators! Who got the rest? Even if every employee of both branches, all the "alumni coaches" and brewery lobbyists were supplied there would still be several hundred to be accounted for. And there are citizens of the state who even maintain that lawgivers themselves should not be supplied with knives at the expense of the people any more than they should be given socks, shaving sets or manicure machinery.

FOUNTAIN PENS FOR THE HOUSE.

Bought from	No. bought	Price paid	Date paid
Houston Pen Co.	*188	$564.60	Jan. 23
Louis F. Dow Co.	2	9.00	Jan. 30
Houston Pen Co.	48	144.00	Feb. 2
McGill Warner Co.	40	100.00	Feb. 2
McGill Warner Co.	2	8.75	Feb. 2
Louis F. Dow Co.	6	30.00	Feb. 17
Louis F. Dow Co.	4	29.50	Apr. 15
Louis F. Dow Co.	3	21.00	Apr. 15
McGill Warner Co.	25	106.25	Apr. 15
Houston Pen Co.	48	144.00	Apr. 18
Louis F. Dow Co.	2	6.50	Apr. 22
Totals	368	$1,163.60	

FOUNTAIN PENS FOR SENATE.

Bought from	No. bought	Price paid	Date paid
Houston Pen Co.	*94	$282.00	Jan. 20
McGill Warner Co.	20	66.00	Feb. 20
McGill Warner Co.	3	8.25	Mar. 31
McGill Warner Co.	2	5.00	Mar. 31
Houston Pen Co.	12	36.00	Apr. 15
Totals	131	$397.25	

When one remembers that the Secretary of State was very generous, perhaps even profligate, supplying 99 more fountain pens than was necessary to equip all the members of both branches, a query or two becomes pertinent. Why did the Chief Clerk of the House and Secretary of the Senate subsequently buy 211 more fountain pens, and to whom were they given?

I am indebted to Representative J. T. Johnson for some illuminating facts concerning the price paid. Mr. Johnson did not think the state was getting quite value received for its pen expenditures and he wrote to the Houston Pen Company for a price on what he decided was the identical pen used by the commonweath in such generous quantities. He solicited this information, not as a legislator, but as the proprietor of a drug store at Fergus Falls. The Houston Pen Company quoted him a wholesale price of $1.80 each, with 2% off for cash, and "a handsome oak, plate glass display case" if two dozen were ordered at one time. The House and Senate in some way utilized 390 of these Houston pens at $3.00 each.

SHEARS AND SCISSORS.

The detailed account of legislative expenditures in this direction is interesting and instructive. Study the items. The House comes first:

Bought from	No. bought	Price paid	Date paid
Louis F. Dow Co.	1 pr.	$2.75	Jan. 30
Pioneer Co.	48 pr.	60.00	Feb. 2
McGill Warner Co.	87 pr.	68.25	Feb. 2
Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.	36 pr.	38.00	Feb. 2
Louis F. Dow Co.	12 pr.	75.00	Feb. 8
Louis F. Dow Co.	3 pr.	13.50	Feb. 8
Totals	187 pr.	$257.50	

SHEARS AND SCISSORS FOR SENATE.

Bought from	No. bought	Price paid	Date paid
Wallblom Furniture Co.	1 pr.	$0.95	Jan. 6
McGill Warner Co.	3 pr.	5.25	Jan. 22
Pioneer Co.	24 pr.	30.00	Jan. 22
McGill Warner Co.	24 pr.	30.00	Feb. 3
McGill Warner Co.	12 pr.	7.50	Feb. 20
McGill Warner Co.	2 pr.	3.50	Mar. 31
Pioneer Press Co.	1 pr.	1.00	Apr. 19
Totals	67 pr.	$78.20	

STATIONERY FOR THE PRESENT AND POSTERITY.

The following items of stationery were purchased for the House, only the printer, quantity and price being given:

McGill Warner Co.		1,000 letterheads	10.00
30,000 letterheads	$150.00	150 envelopes	4.50
20,000 envelopes	70.00		
10,000 envelopes	50.00	Louis F. Dow Co.	
1,000 letterheads		132,000 letterheads	
1,000 envelopes	20.00	132,000 envelopes	$3,232.00
1,000 letterheads		7,000 letterheads	45.50
1,000 envelopes	20.00	7,000 envelopes	52.50
10,000 letterheads	50.00	1,000 envelopes	7.50
10,000 envelopes	50.00	1,000 letterheads	6.50
20,600 letterheads	100.00	1,000 envelopes	7.50
20,000 envelopes	87.50	1,000 letterheads	6.50

The Senate used, or in time expects to use:

McGill Warner Co.		75,000 letterheads	112.50
20,000 letterheads	$100.00	80,000 envelopes	380.00
18,500 envelopes	97.25	5,000 envelopes	37.50
10,000 letterheads	50.00	4,000 letterheads and envelopes	60.00
2 doz. envelopes	1.10	Embossed stationery	20.00
3,000 second sheets	6.75	6,000 letter heads	30.00
7,500 envelopes	32.50	700 envelopes	8.50
11,000 letterheads	55.00	5,000 letterheads	25.00
6 doz. envelopes	4.20	Louis F. Dow Co.	
Note heads and envelopes	187.50	10,000 letterheads	
80,000 letterheads	400.00	10,000 envelopes	$140.00

Total for stationery for House and Senate $5,726.80

SCRATCH PADS EXHIBIT.

The item indicating that the state paid as high as forty cents each for scratch paper pads revives one's inclination to stop and moralize a little. These were for both branches:

Louis F. Dow Co.	
200 scratch pads	80.00
McGill Warner Co.	
48 scratch pads	6.00
212 scratch pads	21.50
Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.	
36 scratch pads	$5.25
72 scratch pads	10.40
75 scratch pads	15.00
McClain Gray Co.	
240 scratch pads	$27.00

OFFICE FURNITURE.

The following items of furniture were purchased by the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives, only the dealer, article and price being given:

Gibbben Lumber Co.	
Mahogany desk and chair	$125.00
Louis F. Dow Co.	
4 desks	$480.00
1 desk	70.00
1 desk	75.00
2 desks	160.00
1 desk	75.00
8 chairs, 11 filing cases	218.00
2 file cases	38.00
20 file cases	120.00
15 transfer files	90.00
24 chairs	108.00
1 chair	12.00
1 chair	16.00
6 chairs	$60.00
1 stand	10.00
1 table	14.00
1 hat rack	14.00
McGill Warner Co.	
1 chair	17.50
2 chairs	25.00
1 chair	7.50
4 desks	345.00
2 desks	112.50
1 desk	35.00
1 desk and chair	37.50
1 cabinette	40.00
2 tables	80.00
1 chair	7.50
Total for House furniture	$2,392.50

The Senate furniture consisted of three dozen chairs purchased from the Wallblom Furniture Co. for $90.00. There was some difference between the two branches in this particular and I asked an old timer why the upper body bought so much less. He said it was probably because less of the Senate furniture used at the previous session had been stolen—which brings us to the delicate question: What has become of the property bought biennially for the legislature? Did it wear out in four months or have spigot statesmen been accustomed to ship it home? Most of the furniture bought at this session was saved to the state. This was due largely to the different insurgent resolutions safeguarding supplies.

Representative Kerry E. Conley compiled a partially complete list of the incidental supplies purchased, articles which should not have been used up, with the price paid, which follows:

2 stamp affixers	$100.00	6 doz. heavy tumblers	3.60
1 protectograph	35.00	3 large willow baskets	2.85
6 cut glass ink wells	15.00	3 heavy butcher baskets	7.50
3 file sections	15.00	1 doz. turkey dusters	12.00
1 doz. perfection oilers	3.00	6 heavy galvanized pails	3.90
3 flexible rulers	4.50	1 doz. cuspidor brushes	1.20
McGill's fasteners	70.00	3 mop pails and ringers	8.25
1 inkwell mat	1.50	1 doz. dust pans	3.00
1 Webster's pencil sharpener	3.00	1 hair brush for Speaker	1.50
1 Hotchkiss machine	2.25	1 comb for Speaker	.75
4 doz. large wire baskets	48.00	12 rubber mats	6.00
4 doz. pr. shears	60.00	3 floor brushes	5.25
2 eyelet presses	9.00	Hair brush and comb for C. Clk.	2.25
1 document case	7.50	1 carpet sweeper	3.00
3 prs. shears	5.25	2 doz. rubber mats	12.00
1 Webster pencil sharpener	3.50	15 doz. inkwells	126.00
1 dating machine	5.00	24 cuspidors	96.00
1 doz. letter files	5.00	12 clipless fasteners	42.00
1 water pitcher	3.50	1 branding iron	$12.00
1 cut glass pitcher	4.00	10 copy holders	25.00
1 mirror	2.25	6 cut glass red ink wells	12.00
1 cut glass ink stand	7.75	3 Maxim moisteners	1.50
36 India water jugs	23.40	2 cuspidors	6.00
6 nickel trays	1.50	1 doz. Challenge eyelets	36.00

1 doz. flexible rulers	12.00
1 flexible ruler	1.00
3 Ideal copy holders	6.00
1 doz. No. 1232 cuspidors	27.00
4 doz. Pico letter files	20.00
1 doz. Perfect oilers	3.00
2 No. 794 wire baskets	2.00
83 rubber stamps	22.50
1 Triumph eyelet punch	2.50
1 Superior postal scale	2.50
1 No. 50a Bates numbering machine.	15.00
2 doz. Seng Busch ink stands	48.00
2 letter files	1.60
1 water pitcher	3.00
6 glasses	3.38
1 ebony gavel	1.25
2 doz. pr. 8-in. shears	20.00
6 carpet sweepers	22.50
6 doz. tumblers	4.50
2 doz. hair brushes	24.00
2 hotel carpet sweepers	9.50
6 large water jugs	6.00
2 doz. clothes brushes	24.00
3 shoe blacking boxes	9.75
6 pieces cleaning cloth	10.50
1 doz. mop heads	1.80
1 hatchet	.75
1 doz. hair brushes	13.80
1 6-ft. step ladder	.75
2 carpet sweepers	6.00
1 doz. waste baskets	9.50
12 book shelves	6.00
3 telephone brackets	15.00
10 machine fasteners	30.00
12 clipless fasteners	42.00
4 clipless fasteners	14.00

The item, "1 branding iron," may prove puzzling. When his attention was called to that twelve dollar expenditure one of the insurgents suggested that it might have been purchased for the purpose of putting the brewery sign on Clinton Robinson or J. N. Johnson. At any rate, it must have had some use, for according to Mr. Conley's checking it was stolen with the other stuff.

Mr. Conley sent the above list to the custodian at the capitol, with the request that that official check the articles which had been given into his keeping after the session adjourned, as all supplies and furniture should be. Of the entire list published above only the following articles were left behind, according to the checking of the custodian:

Six cut glass ink wells, protectograph, 23 out of four dozen large wire baskets, six nickel trays, 13 out of six dozen heavy tumblers, 1 out of a dozen turkey dusters, two out of three willow baskets, 1 out of six pails, one dozen cuspidor brushes, one out of three mop pails and wringers, 9 out of a dozen dust pans, one out of three floor brushes, 32 out of 15 dozen ink wells, 6 out of twelve clipless fasteners, 6 out of ten copy holders, 10 out of 12 cuspidors, 12 out of four dozen letter files, 3 out of six carpet sweepers, 4 out of 24 clothes brushes, six cleaning cloths, 5 out of a dozen mop heads, one dozen waste baskets, and two out of four clipless fasteners.

* * *

The following purchases, only a part of the total number, are none of them included in any of the lists already published in this chapter:

Louis F. Dow Co.	
Baskets and cuspidors	$142.50
Typewriter paper	59.50
130 bottles of ink	32.50
6 felt mats	9.00
12 ink wells	5.40
12 mucilage holders	4.20
6 envelope openers	3.00
1 index memo	1.50
3 calendars	3.00
24 bottles of ink	6.00
1 ledger	12.00
2 record books	7.50
10 reams paper	24.00
1 roll drawing paper	9.00
Record books and typewriter ribbon	13.50
1 bottle ink	.25
Typewriter paper, etc	394.50
72 envelope openers	36.00
24 boxes eyelets	7.50
Typewriter oil	3.00
5 doz. erasers	12.50
Carbon paper	18.00
1 inkwell	2.00
1 red ink bottle	.50
File boxes, etc	229.00
96 envelope openers	48.00
10 reams paper	25.00
3 copy holders	6.00
720 pencils	40.00
72 pencils	8.70
10 boxes carbon	50.00
50 reams paper	175.00
5 M staples	5.00
288 pencils	12.00
100 note books	10.00
144 erasers	21.60
144 clips	14.40
24 bottles of ink	6.00
Frank P. Dufresne	
Annotated statutes	786.50
Minnesota Law Book Co.	
2 sets Digest	40.00
H. C. Boyeson Co.	
Supplies	4.50
Louis F. Dow Co.	
8 boxes carbon paper	40.00
11 boxes paper	44.00
1 box pens	1.00
Fritz & Cross	
120 perforated pads	$90.00
8 lbs. rubber bands	34.00

Pioneer Press Co.
- 8 M clips 8.00
- 12 calendars 9.00
- 12 qts. ink 9.00
- 24 typewriter records 18.00
- 12 typewriter brushes 3.00
- 12 bottles oil 2.40
- 6 ink wells 3.00
- 24 blotters 2.00
- 24 pkgs. pins 2.40
- 24 boxes clips 2.40
- 6 paper weights 1.20
- 2 boxes carbon 7.00
- 24 ink wells 26.25
- 6 boxes carbon 21.00
- 1 box pens 1.50
- 72 pencils 3.50
- 864 rubber bands 2.10
- 6 erasers 6.00

McGill Warner Co.
- 5 boxes rubber bands 25.00
- 24 red ink bottles 6.00
- 36 ink stands 9.00
- Knife cases 2.50
- 6 spindles ..... .60
- 2 boxes carbon 9.50
- 2 numbering machines 20.00
- 1 quart mucilage ..... .15
- 1 quart ink 1.00
- 156 pencils 7.00
- 1 box typewriter paper 2.50
- 3 stamp pads 1.75
- 1 ring book 2.50
- 1 eyelet press 2.50
- 1 doz. boxes eyelets 2.25
- 6 boxes paper 15.00
- 6 memo books 1.50
- 24 boxes paper 60.00
- 12 boxes carbon 60.00
- 20 pkgs. toilet paper 18.00
- 1 dater ..... .25
- 1 arm rest 1.00
- 84 pen holders 5.25
- 24 erasers 6.55
- 288 blotters 2.50
- 24 note books 2.50
- 4 rubber rulers 1.00
- 8 boxes fasteners 1.40
- 4 boxes pins ..... .40
- 1 doz. erasers 7.20
- 6 copy holders 18.00
- 1 pocket dictionary ..... .25

Henry E. Wedelstaedt
- 10 boxes carbon 30.00
- 10 reams paper 15.00
- 12 memo books 2.50

Less 2 per cent.

McGill Warner Co.
- Error in bill 4.05

Louis F. Dow Co.
- 11 copy holders $33.00
- 40 reams paper 160.00
- 20 boxes carbon 100.00
- 3 copy holders 10.50
- 6 punches 19.50
- 10 boxes eyelets 32.50
- 15 boxes bands 44.25
- 6 dictionaries 3.00
- Record books 10.00

McGill Warner Co.
- Note books, etc 4.50

Walter Salinger
- Engrossing Clapp election certificate 48.50

Manheimer Bros.
- 3 cut glass pitchers, 6 glasses and 1 mirror 12.10

Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.
- 1 qt. ink 1.50
- 84 penholders 6.50
- 6 gross pens 9.00
- 14 bottles mucilage 1.50
- 144 pencils 6.00
- Knife cases 1.00
- 20 bottles paste 4.00
- 48 boxes rubber bands 32.40
- 9 M typewriter paper..... 12.20
- 2 qts. ink 3.00
- 1 M typewriter paper 4.00
- Sponges and cups 1.80
- 10 boxes carbon paper 35.00
- 10 reams typewriter paper..... 15.00
- 1 binder 1.65
- 1 env. distributor 1.35
- Pen rack and cards..... .40

Wallblom Furniture Co.
- 48 brooms 17.00
- 36 boxes blacking 3.60
- 12 shoe brushes 4.20
- 24 combs 6.00
- 1 doz. sponges 2.40
- 12 doz. cakes soap 12.00
- 12 boxes nickel polish 4.20
- 2 chamois skins 3.70
- 8 doz. sapolio and soap..... 4.70
- 6 scrubbing brushes ..... .90
- 24 boxes shoe blacking 2.40
- 12 gross matches 15.00

J. D. Neusame
- 1 box eraso 3.00

Louis F. Dow Co.
- Paper clips 35.00
- Carbon paper 85.00
- Typewriter paper 71.50
- Lead pencils 37.50
- 1 filing case 16.00
- 1 record 6.00
- 150 memo books stamped in gold.. 300.00

S. H. Drumm
- Services Wisconsin boundary case.. 225.00

Dr. Eshelby
- Medical services 15.00

Mark B. Dunnel
- 3 sets Minnesota Digest..... 60.00

John G. Lennon
- Contest expenses 251.00

John P. Nash
- Contest expenses 250.00

R. J. Clarke
- Contest expenses 250.00

McGill Warner Co.
- 4 M pocket manuals 950.00
- 1,600 of same stamped in gold..... 720.00
- 600 lettered in gold with member's name 170.00
- 2 M auditor reports..... 312.50

Frank B. Dufresne
- Law books 46.00

Louis F. Dow Co.
- 48 boxes carbon 220.00
- 15 boxes files 30.00
- 2 bottles ink ..... .50
- Brushes and tacks ..... .50
- Drawing paper 9.30
- 2 Shannon boards 3.00
- 20 lbs. rubber bands 25.00
- 20 boxes paper 80.00
- 2 rulers 2.00
- Rent adding machine 12.50
- 1,440 lead pencils 60.00
- 24 sheets carbon 1.80
- 4 rolls adding paper ..... .60
- Shannon boards, etc 2.90
- 1 perforater ..... .25
- 144 bottles ink 36.00
- 500 sheets paper 4.75
- 3 dust files 1.50
- 8 boxes eyelets 5.50
- 120 boxes fasteners 24.00

2 rolls adding paper	.30
30 reams paper	$120.00
12 boxes Smead envelopes	84.00
15 reams paper	60.00
5 boxes carbon	25.00
1 Challenge press	3.50
Miscellaneous	2.85
130 letter files	65.00
200 scored cards	3.50
10 M gallery tickets	20.00
Cards and paper	6.50
30 boxes typewriter paper	120.00
12 bottles ink	3.00
Typewriter supplies	10.00
20 reams carbon	100.00
1 box Smead files	7.50
Roosevelt visit expenses	11.25
Walter Salinger	
Engrossing resolutions	81.25
McGill Warner Co.	
1 doz. boxes	3.50
26 boxes paper	53.50
1 rubber stamp	1.00
10 boxes carbon	50.00
Knife cases	6.00
62 record books	124.00
1 stamp rack	4.25
1 ruler	.75
Stamps, pads, etc.	78.00
24 binders	60.00
24 pen fillers, rubber bands, etc	30.95
1 M. "An act" sheets	87.50
4 reams legal cap	30.00
15 reams MSS covers	112.50
Holm & Olson	
Flowers for Roosevelt reception	100.00
Flowers for Fisher funeral	38.50
Desk decorations for Fisher funeral	26.50
Highland Spring Co.	
1745 gal. spring water	87.25
Elk Laundry Co.	
Washing towels	139.04
Frank Dufresne	
Annotated statutes	162.50
Wallblom Furniture Co.	
3 mop pails, etc.	8.25
6 clothes brushes	6.00
1 tack hammer	.25
1 doz. dust pans	3.00
1 doz. feather dusters	12.00
24 rubber mats	12.00
2 cuspidor brushes	.40
3 clothes baskets	2.85
3 butcher baskets	7.50
24 fancy jugs	10.80
10 large fancy jugs	9.00
36 hair brushes	36.00
1 comb and brush	2.25
6 large sponges	1.20
3 floor brushes	5.25
6 doz. towels	24.00
1 doz. rubber mats	1.80
1 doz. nickel polish	.50
24 match safes	3.60
2 bolts cleaning cloth	4.70
2 doz. cakes sapolio	2.40
6 scrubbing brushes	.90
6 brass water bowls	2.10
1 doz. willow baskets	9.00
2 cut glass jugs	15.50
4 cut glass tumblers	4.00
3 doz. whisk brooms	9.00
12 nickel trays	3.00
5 doz. tumblers	3.30
3 carpet sweepers	9.00
1,728 boxes matches	15.00
168 cakes toilet soap	14.00
24 brooms	11.00
6 pails	3.90
1 doz. mop heads	1.20
48 boxes shoe blacking	4.80
6 shoe blacking brushes	2.10
36 combs with chains	9.00
144 lead pencils	5.50
1 doz. rubber erasers	.60
2 boxes rubber bands	1.40
2 chamois skins	3.70
2 doz. brass cuspidors	21.60
3 rulers	.45
72 pencil sharpeners	9.00
120 pencil holders	15.00
6 hair brushes with chains	7.50
Screw eyes, picture hooks, etc.	.55
36 bars soaps	1.80
1 hamper	1.25
6 nickel trays	1.50
1 large waste basket	1.20
1 case toilet paper	9.75
Rental on 4 desks	40.00
Rental on 5 lockers	15.00
1 doz waste baskets	9.00
McGill Warner Co.	
78 letter files	33.00
500 manuscript covers	5.00
1 U. S. dater	.30
Rubber bands	10.00
5 doz. note books	6.00
1 doz. penholders	.75
2 gross pens	3.00
24 typewriter erasers	2.50
12 rubber rulers	2.50
1 doz. paper fasteners	18.00
6 boxes staples	1.80
72 lead pencils	3.25
6 boxes typewriter paper	15.00
1 pencil sharpener	3.50
6 spindles	.60
2 boxes carbon paper	9.50
1 numbering machine	15.00
1 dating machine	5.00
1 qt. mucilage	1.50
1 qt. ink	1.00
72 lead pencils	3.25
3 mucilage bottles	.75
1 box typewriter paper	2.50
1 postal scale	2.50
The Pioneer Company	
1 gross pens	1.50
2 arm rests	1.50
72 lead pencils	3.60
72 rubber bands	2.10
6 steel erasers	6.00
12 typewriter brushes	3.00
12 oil cans	3.00
12 bottles oil	2.40
6 ink wells	3.00
24 desk blotters	2.00
24 pkgs. pins	2.40
24 boxes clips	2.40
4 paper weights	.90
2 boxes carbon paper	7.00
1 gross pins	1.50
Typewriter ribbons	18.00
McGill Warner Co.	
2 doz. key rings	2.00
2,000 cards	3.50
2 record books	11.00
12 ink stands	6.00
6 ink bottles	1.50
12 pen racks	4.20
60 letter openers	12.50
12 memo books	3.00
24 pen holders	1.50
1 arm rest	1.00
12 boxes typewriter paper	30.00
12 letter files	5.00
1 gross lead pencils	6.50
5,000 sheets manila paper	3.00

Tri-State Tel. Co.
Toll fees 3.60
West Pub. Co.
10 sets Minnesota R. L..... 80.00
2 copies 1905 R. L. and supplement to 1909 laws 15.00
53 copies Minn. laws and 28 Minn. codes 310.00
Less $5.00.
Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.
1 cut glass inkstand 7.75
1 I. P. ring binder..... 3.05
24 letter openers 6.00
24 bottles paste 6.00
12 ink erasers 2.50
1 ink pad ..... .40
72 lead pencils 3.60
1 doz. ink erasers 7.20
6 ink wells 6.00
3 ruling pens 1.35
12 rubber rulers 4.20
10 boxes carbon paper 35.00
2 stamps with pad 1.10
Rent for 3 desks 30.00
Rent for 2 chairs 6.00
Senate members' mileage.....1,998.60
Frank P. Dufresne
Annotating code 15.00
McGill Warner Co.
1 paper weight 1.75
12 document boxes 3.50
72 pencils 3.00
4 paper fasteners 6.00
1 doz. boxes staples 3.60
3 doz. blotters 3.75
Louis F. Dow Co.
Expert to open safe 7.50
Rent of desk and chairs..... 36.00
Rent of desk and chairs..... 54.00
McGill Warner Co.
Records of Farrington-Froshaug election contest $197.50
2,000 cards 5.00
12 boxes typewriter paper..... 18.00
Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.
Rubber stamps 1.00
1 dater ..... .25
1 doz. paper knives 8.00
1 doz. stamp pads ..... .40
1 doz. bill books 21.00
1 qt. ink ..... .75
1 qt. mucilage ..... .65
72 pencils 2.25
1 doz. note books ..... .50
1 doz. note books 1.00
Wallblom Furniture Co.
36 boxes shoe blacking 3.60
3 hair brushes 4.50
3 combs 2.25
Rent of 3 desks 30.00
5 mirrors 18.75
24 shoe brushes 8.40
2 carpet sweepers 11.00
1 case toilet paper 9.75
6 doz. cakes toilet soap..... 6.00
2 feather dusters 2.00
1 piece cleaning cloth 2.85
McGill Warner Co.
3 gross blotters 3.75
6 letter files 3.00
6 document boxes 2.00
3 doz. pen holders 1.55
6 boxes carbon paper 30.00
12 boxes typewriter paper 30.00
1 gross lead pencils 6.50
6 receipt books 2.40
3 doz. copying pencils 3.75
3 doz. point protectors ..... .75
18 boxes typewriter paper 45.00
1 gross pencils 6.50
150 letterhead boxes 37.50
1 doz. cords 1.50
Frank E. Wood
3 gross pens 4.50
H. H. Fritz
Trip to training school..... 14.91
Electric Blue Print Co.
Blue prints for reapportionment committee 43.94
Northwestern Elec. Equipment Co.
Lamp shades 53.12
F. W. Babcock
Lettering doors 24.55
McClain & Gray
Mdse. for Senate 7.50
John Saugstad
Expense of contest 1,794.26
S. J. Froshaug
Expense of contest.....1,436.50
John J. Ahmann
Expense of contest 650.00
American Linen Supply
Clean towel service 59.18
Highland Spring Water Co.
1,670 gals. water 83.50
S. D. Works
Expense election contest 900.00
James Handlan
Expense election contest..... 450.00
Louis F. Dow Co.
Typewriter paper, etc. 8.55
Rent on furniture 30.00
Pioneer Press Co.
1 doz. copy holders 30.00
1 gross rubber bands 5.50
Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.
1 gavel 1.25
Carbon paper 21.00
Ink 1.50
1 doz. knife cases 1.00
3 doz. erasers 3.25
180 pencils 8.55
8 M second sheets 6.00
2 M staples 1.20
Rent of furniture 12.00
Pen holders ..... .75
150 files 45.00
McGill Warner Co.
Legal blanks and covers..... 127.50
300 "An act" sheets and second.... 37.50
Pencils, mucilage, etc. 3.15
Rubber bands and staples, etc..... 32.80
12 boxes typewriter paper..... 30.00
Carbon paper and boxes..... 12.00
500 "An act" sheets 35.00
2 boxes typewriter paper..... 5.00
Mileage for Representatives 3,816.85
Expense of Red Wing investigation..1,622.88
F. W. Babcock
Lettering committee rooms..... 24.35
Brown, Treacy & Sperry Co.
1 M typewriter paper 2.50
1 file ..... .65
60 records books 96.00
2 doz. paper knives 16.00
2 doz. knives in cases..... 42.66
6 typewriter ribbons 6.00
Ledger and files 2.45
L. C. Smith Typewriter Co.
Rentals and covers 7.00
Louis F. Dow Co.
Tickets for Roosevelt reception.... 7.00
The Pioneer Co.
Typewriter paper and ribbons..... 16.50
Louis F. Dow Co.
6 boxes and 6 arches 2.00
1 gross pencils 9.00
2 balls twine 1.50
1 ledger 5.50

H. H. Dunn	
3 days extra signing bills, etc.....	15.00
O. F. Doyle	
Drainage investigation	8.88
N. W. Elec. Equipment Co.	
Lights for committee rooms.....	32.63
Globes for commitee rooms.....	47.24
A. A. Christenson	
Rent of taxicab to bring in absent members of Senate	11.00
A. D. Stephens	
Legislative trip	38.36
Some extra salaries	$1,220.70
Drainage investigation	1,547.86
Witnesses, election contests	988.22
Committee junkets—	
House	1,445.81
Senate	484.13
Rent of typewriters, etc.....	684.30
*Telephone rent and tolls.....	338.75

*Twin City and long distance calls were paid for by individual members at the time of talking, none of which are included in this item.

Chief Clerk Arneson secured rebates on some of the House purchases amounting to nearly $2,000, which were turned back into the treasury.

* * *

INEFFECTUAL INSURGENT PROTESTS.

When the Kunze resolution, giving the Chief Clerk authority and instructions to purchase supplies, was presented to the House, Clinton Robinson alone voted against it. He was a new member, with an instinctive nose for graft. He did not speak upon the Kunze motion, but told me afterward that he thought supplies ought to be purchased by a committee, with every opportunity for competition, economy and proper checking.

W. A. Campbell was another House member who recognized the opportunity for graft or extravagance in the customary method and on January 10th he presented this resolution and forced its adoption:

"Resolved, that all unpaid bills for supplies purchased or to be purchased by the Chief Clerk pursuant to the resolution adopted January 3rd, shall not be paid until audited and approved by the Committee on Legislative Expenses. The Committee on Legislative Expenses shall meet on the 1st and 15th of each month and as much oftener as necessary during the legislative session for the purpose of passing upon and auditing such bills and shall keep a public record of the details of all meetings held for that purpose."

The Committee on Legislative Expenses, thus empowered to check and prevent graft or extravagance, consisted of Messrs. Perry, Greene, Edwards, J. E. Peterson and Knapp. The first two were old reactionary members; the others inexperienced men. I shall make no comment on the manner in which this committee met their opportunity to serve the people.

Kerry E. Conley paved the way for publicity in the purchasing of supplies through the following amendment to the rules which he offered January 10th:

The Chief Clerk shall require an itemized invoice in duplicate form of all purchases of supplies made by him, the original invoice to accompany the order for payment to the State Auditor, who shall file the same.

Mr. Conley's own comment on this and his later resolution, which follows, is astonishing. He said: "From time immemorial, it has been the custom to purchase large amounts of furniture and fixtures, and when the next session came around no trace could be found of it." It was to save something for the state that Mr. Conley introduced and had adopted this resolution on the last day of the session:

Whereas, there was a committee appointed during the early part of the session to audit all accounts; and

Whereas, the invoices for large amounts of supplies, office furniture, etc., have just been turned in with apparently no check or approval of the committee; and

Whereas, the purchasing powers of this House have invested the sum of $2,451.00 in office furniture and $1,559.50 in office fixtures;

Resolved, that the committee appointed to check up these accounts be instructed to proceed to complete its work and to turn over to the Custodian of the Capitol all items according to the rules of this House.

Previous to the passage of Mr. Conley's resolution, on March 14th, the following was introduced by John O. Rustad. It was blocked temporarily by George M. Nye, but was adopted a few days later and became a law of the legislature:

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, That it shall be the duty of each officer and employee of the House of Representatives, at the close of the present session, to deliver all state property and supplies in his or her possession to the Chief Clerk, and it shall be the duty of the Chief Clerk to make an inventory of all such property and supplies and deliver the same and the inventory thereof to the Custodian of the State Capitol, to be by him kept and delivered to the Chief Clerk of the House of the next succeeding legislature. The Chief Clerk shall take the Custodian's receipts for such property and supplies in duplicate and file one of the same with the Governor of the state.

Dr. W. T. Stone had in mind the valuable law books carted away after each session when he presented this resolution on April 5th:

Resolved, by the House of Representatives that, beginning with the 38th Session of the State Legislature, each member of the House shall be provided with an annotated copy of the Revised Laws of 1905, or later compiled statute, by the Chief Clerk of the House, and shall, upon receipt of same, sign a voucher, therefor, which shall be filed by the Chief Clerk of the House with the Secretary of State. At the end of the session each member shall surrender his book to the Secretary of State, whereupon said voucher shall be returned to him. The Secretary of State shall safely keep said books for use at subsequent sessions. The Secretary of State shall make a list of all vouchers uncalled for, which shall be submitted to the House of the next succeeding Legislature and entered on the Journal of the House.

J. T. Johnson introduced a most important measure to reform these conditions. It provided that supplies should be purchased by the Board of Control. But plunder is a part of politics and his bill was defeated. I regret that there isn't space here to give further credit to Mr. Johnson and other insurgents for their efforts to bring about competition, economy and conservation in the matter of supplies.

The phase of it all which seems most deplorable is the spirit of plunder which prevailed about the capitol. "The state pays for it; get all you can," was apparently the attitude of many members and employees. It is significant and shocking that conditions would have been even worse had it not been for the vigilance of the insurgents. If not responsible, the Speaker of the House at least had the power and the opportunity to remedy the evil. He could have named a Committee on Legislative Expenses made up of old members who would have displayed experience, patrotism and activity in the discharge of their duties. More than that, vouchers were signed by the Speaker, as well as the Chief Clerk, which enabled him to have full knowledge of what was happening.

* * *

THE THIRD HOUSE.

Statesmen require assistance in making laws—and playing politics. Congressmen, especially the stand-pat kind, experience little difficulty in building a machine composed mostly of postmasters. Legislators have no such legitimate opportunity to supply places for their campaign workers, but improvise means of rewarding a horde of petty politicians at public expense by having them appointed door-keepers, gallery sergeants, clerks, etc., etc., in the legislature. Practically all of these political appointments are dependent upon the speakership and are important factors in deciding the incumbency of that all-powerful position.

The elective positions in the House, the legitimacy or necessity of which should not be questioned, are: Chief Clerk, Oscar Arneson, whose regular salary of $10.00 a day was augmented by $200 for indexing the journal and $30.00 for "extra clerk services;" G. O. Hage and Jerome J. Rice, assistant clerks, at a salary of $7.00 a day, with $84.00 cash for extra clerk services; Sheldon Crawford and Reuben G. Thoreen, engrossing and enrolling clerks, at $5.00 a day, with $15 and $20.00 for extra services; George H. Deans and B. F. Seiz, sergeants-at-arms, at $5.00 each a day, with $267.50 extra pay voted to each and $131.40 for serving subpoenas; W. J. Scanlon and Ole O. Holmen, pastmaster and assistant, at salaries of $5.00 each per day; and Rev. Moses E. Maxwell, who chaplained the performances at a daily stipend of $5.00. David W. Knowlton was appointed reading clerk at $10.00 a day. T. V. Knatvold was

appointed Speaker's clerk at a salary of $10.00 a day and Mary V. Robertson, Speaker's stenographer, at half that salary.

Claude C. MacKenzie, a son of George MacKenzie, floor leader of the administration, landed the best clerkship, that of the Judiciary Committee, at a salary of $10 00 a day. Mr. MacKenzie was called away on his own legal business for about a week at one time during the session, but the Judiciary Committee managed to struggle along, nor did the payroll profit by his absence. He was assisted by Frank E. Reed at a salary of $5.00 a day.

The Reapportionment Committee proved quite expensive to the state. N. T. Moen drew $10.00 a day from January 16th to the end of the session as clerk of that committee and Roy H. Currie, a draftsman, was placed upon the payroll at $10.00 a day February 1st and stuck through to the finish. And there were other expenses. Of course there was much drawing of maps and redistricting schemes, but I am not the only one who believes that all the work actually necessary could have been performed by a $5.00 a day man in a week.

The cloak room keepers were also a luxury. There were three in the House—George E. Byers, Gust Bender and J. B. Conley—at $5.00 a day each. They were forced to operate in a little corner where not more than one could easily labor at a time. The others acted as reserves. In 1909 Kerry E. Conley introduced a bill to replace these cloak room keepers with a locker for each member. Besides being better in every way the change would have saved the state many thousand dollars in the course of a decade. But the politicians preferred to keep this plunder for their friends. Again at the last session L. Wisniewski championed a similar measure, which was defeated in the Senate.

William Lovely was "sergeant of the reserve gallery;" other gallery keepers were James Hunter, Franklin L. Stauffer, Guy Bye, Joseph Cousineau, Sr., and Thomas Liddy. Perhaps one of these might have been necessary, but there certainly was no excuse for reinforcements, yet William J. Pomplun was appointed a gallery keeper on March 28th. The House journal states that he was named "in place of F. L. Stauffer." My report from the state treasurer's office shows, however, that Mr. Stauffer drew pay until the close of the session. These were all $5.00 a day men.

The sergeants of committee rooms were Alex Herbst, A. J. Reibestein, Frank L. Waren, Gordon T. Bright and M. A. Giere, five $5.00 a day idlers, made so mostly by the unnecessary and unstrenuous nature of their occupation. And the door keepers—there were eight of them, George J. Schillo, C. W. Borgey, Richard Thomas, Rudolph Paul, Harvey Gordon, Thomas M. Quinn, John C. McLaren, and Albert E. Dorff, costing the state $400 every ten days.

W. J. Brown was a special clerk at $10.00 a day. The $5.00 a day clerks were numerous and nifty, including J. M. Peckenpaugh, K. G. Oldre, Robert B. Forrest, C. A. Reil, Henry Siemering, John W. Loftus, E. B. Dahl, Clarence R. Anderson, John McMillan, C. S. Broton, A. G. Rutledge, and S. W. Frasier—setting the state back $600 every ten days. With the exception of a special clerk, of honest intentions and equipped to draft bills, all the others in this class could be eliminated. The average clerk did not work half an hour a day and even then his labor could have been performed by some committee member without removing his feet from the table. The little that is done by clerks should be added to the duties of the stenographers and their number increased accordingly. Two stenographers would be worth more in actual service than a dozen clerks—but not for political purposes.

About the only department of service that was not overdone was that of the stenographers. There were a dozen of these ladies and most

of them earned their $5.00 salaries. And a small minority of the seven pages, some of them sons of members, were needed. But it can safely be said that two-thirds of the entire list of employees are absolutely unnecessary.

In the House, the Committee on Rules provided for the appointment of practically all of the employees of that body by the Speaker, who bestowed most of the plums upon his supporters in the speakership contest. A part of the rule on this subject is as follows: "No employee of the House shall receive any pay for any time prior to the time of appointment," yet on the last day this resolution was presented by Messrs. Frankson, Henion, Hopkins, Converse, Crane, Bouck, Ferguson and Kunze, in behalf of that number of clerks:

Be it Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the House be, and he hereby is, instructed to draw and deliver to the following named persons warrants for the sums set opposite the respective names the same being for the per diem of such persons between the time they respectively reported for duty and the time of their appointment, at the rate of five dollars per day, viz.: H. R. Soule, $45.00; Leonard Lyman, $50.00; E. B. Dahl, $45.00; J. M. Peckinpaugh, $40.00; Charles Reil, $45.00; Guy Bye, $45.00; Joseph Cousineau, $45.00, and Albert Dorff, $45.00.

W. A. Campbell blocked this attempt. He and other insurgents saved the state from several similar assaults upon the treasury.

Andrew Davis originated a measure to completely correct these patronage abuses. W. I. Nolan and George H. Mattson joined with him as joint authors of the bill, which eliminated about two-thirds of the employees and provided proper safeguards for the future. The bill was defeated in the Senate. The upper branch could have had no interest in it and apparently permitted it to die on general orders, at the request of certain representatives who did not dare to go on record against so meritorious a measure in the House and yet wanted it killed. The history of the Wisniewski locker bill is identically the same. Keep in mind this lack of team work between House and Senate. It saved the corporations and politicians on numerous critical occasions.

* * *

SENATE PATRONAGE PARASITES

The presiding and organizing officer of the Senate is the Lieutenant Governor, elected by the people. The power of patronage can in no way influence his selection. Accordingly, the politicians have taken the whole matter into their own hands. It is customary for the Republican majority members to caucus and apportion the pelf. This is done before the session assembles. After filling the elective positions, on the opening day, Senator L. O. Cooke presented the usual "omnibus" patronage resolution, the result of the customary caucus:

Resolved, That the following named persons be and the same are hereby appointed for the session, and at the compensation set opposite their respective names, to-wit: Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor, J. S. Arneson, $7.00 per day; Messenger to Lieutenant-Governor, F. C. Tuttle, $5.00 per day; Chaplain, Mr. Andrew D. Stowe, $5.00 per day; Second Assistant Secretary, C. A. Anderson, $7.00 per day; Third Assistant Secretary, E. A. Nelson, $7.00 per day; Fourth Assistant Secretary, D. W. Meeker, $7.00 per day; Assistant Enrolling Clerk, W. E. Hutchinson, $5.00 per day; Assistant Engrossing Clerk, Wm. E. McGee, $5.00 per day; First Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, A. A. Christianson, $5.00 per day; Second Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, S. E. Fay, $5.00 per day; Committee Clerk, Henry Lokensgaard, $5.00 per day; Janitor Senate Chamber, W. H. Lake, $5.00 per day; Assistant Janitor, John H. Dillingham, $5.00 per day; Postoffice Messenger, Wm. Jones, $5.00 per day; Keeper of Cloak Room, Albert Boemer, $5.00 per day; Doorkeeper, Ole Anderson, $5.00 per day; Assistant Doorkeeper, M. F. Doty, $5.00 per day; Sergeant-at-Arms of Gallery, N. H. Hanson, $5.00 per day; Sergeant-at-Arms of Retiring Room, John Bucknell, $5.00 per day; Sergeant of Committee Rooms, Steve Eklund, $5.00 per day; Sergeant of Committee Rooms, Anton Hanson, $5.00 per day; File Clerk, O. E. Dieson, $5.00 per day; Assistant File Clerk, Alfred O. Schmidt, $5.00 per day; Clerk Judiciary Committee, W. H. Hodgman, $10.00 per day; Assistant Clerk Judiciary Committe, James D. Doran, $5.00 per day; Committee Clerks, A. H. Frosbaug, O. N. Hern, C. E. Johnson, F. A. Wilson, Roy Johnson, C. M. Wilkinson, R. S. Hyers, W. W. Williams, D. Donahue, O. O. Distad, P. H. Simmons, Llye J. Johnson, N. C. Koel, Annie Connors, each $5.00 per day; Stenographers, Henry Lemont, Miss K. H. Hanson, Minnie

Kallestad, Mrs. W. A. Norred, Annie Fering, Alta Kingsley, Minnie H. Wilson, Elizabeth C. Cook, and Louise Christianson, each $5.00 per day. And that the First Assistant Secretary be paid $3.00 per day, for the session, additional compensation.

Eight days later, on January 11th, it was discovered that there were still a few politicians to be provided for and Senator J. D. Denegre came to the rescue with the following:

Resolved, That the following named persons be and the same are hereby appointed for the session, and at the compensation set opposite their names, to-wit: Assistant Janitor, Senate Chamber, Charles Engstrum, $5.00 per day; Henry M. Gallagher, Committee Clerk, $5.00 per day; M. D. Fritz, Committee Clerk, $5.00 per day; Andrew J. Rus, Committee Clerk, $5.00 per day; C. F. Swanson, Janitor, $5.00 per day, and Spencer Folkedal, Committee Clerk, $5.00 per day.

This resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules, recommended to pass by that body and adopted by the Senate, with only one dissenting vote, that of Senator A. L. Hanson.

Lieutenant-Governor Gordon was permitted to appoint the seven pages of the Senate, presumably because they were not adult politicians capable of contributing to the machine.

In addition to regular salaries, these gratuities or additions to salaries, were voted by the Senate:

A. A. Christianson	$267.50	Charles Wagner	50.00
Emma S. Paulson	150.00	John McColl	50.00
Paul Colburn, page	50.00	Charles Cummings	50.00
Carl R. Anderson	50.00	James H. Ege	517.90
C. F. Swanson	50.00	D. W. Meeker	300.00
Donald Kulka	50.00	Wm. J. Hardy	117.00
S. G. Phillips	21.00	S. E. Fay	267.50

Even the telephone girls, paid regularly by the telephone companies which employed them, came in for gratuities, Mollie Seebick, Sarah Redmond and Lucetta King each being voted $150.00 of the people's money to show that the Senate was well-to-do and kindly disposed.

* * *

There is still plenty of paint and inspiration and landscape, but we must leave this picture of political piracy and depart to fields of greater fundamental importance.

CHAPTER II.

FUNDAMENTAL LEGISLATIVE LAW.

Monarchial England is making more progress toward democracy than is republican America. This is because she has no supreme court with higher authority than her law-making body and no written constitution for the judiciary to interpret. The legislature of this state is, in miniature, a reproduction of the national problem in this respect. The enemies of the people operate through the rules, which correspond in function to the constitution. Yet there is this difference: Nationally, the corporations and politicians are at times compelled to interpret from or even enact into the fundamental law of the land a spirit and purpose which do not exist; legislatively, the special interests and their servants encounter no such handicap—they make the rules, their constitutional authority, in the first instance.

The Committee on Rules far exceeds in importance any standing committee of the House. These five men virtually create all the other committees. The rules they report provide for the employees discussed in the preceding chapter and regulate the whole course of legislation. This committee is looked upon as the personal committee of the Speaker, and its chairman is regarded as the floor leader of the Speaker's administration, or organization. Speaker Dunn appointed as his committee on rules, George A. MacKenzie, of Sibley County, Chairman; Chester A. Congdon, of Duluth, Charles R. Fowler, of Minneapolis, C. E. Stone, of St. Paul, and W. H. Wescott, of Dakota County. Consider the political character and inclinations of these men:

Mr. MacKenzie was recognized as the representative of the brewery interests. I do not know whether or not he was their attorney, and his legislative activity in their behalf may have been due to unselfish convictions. That is immaterial. The point is that he was considered by the insurgents as the special advocate of the liquor forces.

Mr. Congdon, beyond question, stood for the iron ore interests of northern Minnesota.

Mr. Fowler was an attorney for the Val Blatz Brewing Company and his legal firm also represented a number of liability insurance companies.

Mr. Stone came to the legislature from the Great Northern Railway Company.

Mr. Wescott was a professional politician and throughout the session was known among his colleagues as the Speaker's "handy man." So much for the personnel of the committee. The vital thing is what they did.

Recognizing that most of the evils of legislation are due to the work of standing committees, the progressives of the House, always a minority, demanded two vital reforms in the regulation of these committees: (1) that standing committees should keep a public record of their acts; and (2) that there should be a reasonable limit as to the time standing committees could keep business pigeon-holed away from the House. Both of these demands, in the form of written amendments, were presented to the Committee on Rules, but the first was not included in their report which was presented to the House for adoption on the third day of the session, January 5th. W. I. Nolan, of Minneapolis, one of the insurgent leaders, then offered this "publicity" amendment, which was in substance what the committee had rejected:

"The final action on all bills and resolutions in committee shall be by roll call, and the roll call shall be a part of all committee reports, stating the final action taken on all bills and resolutions."

The roll call on this Nolan amendment furnished the first real "line-up" of progressives and reactionaries. In my opinion it is one of the four supreme tests of whether House members were there to represent the people or the special interests. Those who voted "aye" favored letting the light shine into the committee rooms; those voting "no" preferred the politician method of giving the people no opportunity to know what transpired behind closed doors.

Those voting in the affirmative were: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Burnquist, Campbell, Conley, Crane, Davies, Davis, Edwards, Farley, Fisher, Frankson, Harding, Hauge, Hillman, Hoffman, Holmberg, Holten, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Just, Klemer, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Morton, Nolan, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, E. Warner and Whiting—46.

Those who voted in the negative were: Aker, And. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, Christie, Clarke, Congdon, Converse, Denzer, R. C. Dunn, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Herzberg, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, Keefe, Knapp, Kneeland, Knutson, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, Mattson, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, A. Nelson, H. Nelson, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, Papke, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Reed, Rice, Robertson, Schuler, Schwartz, Spooner, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Utecht, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Webb, Wescott, White, Wisniewski, Speaker H. H. Dunn—62.

Following the rejection of this amendment there was a storm of protest from all parts of the state. The reactionaries became alarmed and, on January 12th, reported to the House a modification of the Nolan amendment, but without even mentioning Mr. Nolan's name, and recommended its adoption. It was as follows:

"62 (a) The final action on all bills and resolutions in committee shall be by roll call showing the vote of each member present.

"(b) A record of the final vote on all bills and resolutions shall be kept by the chairman of each committee showing the names of those present and the vote of each member, which record as to each bill or resolution, shall be filed for public use by the chairman of the committee with the Chief Clerk of the House within twenty-four hours after final action on such bill or resolution. At the close of the session such reports shall be filed with the Secretary of State for public use. Such record shall not be entered in the House Journal except upon a majority vote of the House."

This was adopted by a vote of 104 to 5 on January 19th. Mr. Spooner and others spoke against it, but voted for it. The five negative votes were cast by Borgen, Bouck, L. D. Brown, Clarke and Hurley. Andrew Anderson voted "no," but before the result was announced arose, as though to change his vote. The journal does not record him as voting either way. Such is the history of the progressives' semi-successful fight to bring about publicity in committee rooms. Although ignored in some cases, the change accomplished a great deal in the direction intended.

A WHOLE FAMILY OF WOODCHUCKS.

The second reform demanded by the progressives was "conceded," and it was a most marvelous concession. Read it carefully, remembering that it was intended to prevent the delaying and distorting of bills in committee:

Every bill, other than for appropriations, claims or reapportionment, referred to a standing committee shall be reported therefrom within twenty days after its receipt by the committee.

Any such bill not so reported within such period, unless such period is extended by a vote of the House, shall, five days after any member gives notice in the House that he requires such bill to be reported to the House, unless sooner duly reported, be delivered to the Speaker with or without a report of the committee and lie on the table of the House.

There were no less than five woodchucks in this one concession to the reformers. Here is the list:

Joker No. 1.—The amendment proposed by W. A. Campbell for the progressives provided that the rule should apply both to bills and resolutions. The rules committee omitted the reference to resolutions.

Joker No. 2.—This wonderful new rule provided for its own viola-

tion. Instead of stating honestly and specifically that a bill or resolution should be reported back within twenty, or twenty-five days, it provided that if a bill were not reported back within a given time, then any member might demand its return. In other words, if the committee did not report the bill and no member asked for its return to the House, it remained in the committee indefinitely as under the old order of things. And that was the way it worked. It was a clever subterfuge, far too clever to be accidental, as the committee claimed when its mask was removed.

Joker No. 3.—If a bill were forced out of a committee under this rule, it would come before the House "five days after any member gave notice"—the reactionaries would know exactly when it was coming and could prepare for it or be absent if it were anything they wished to dodge.

Joker No. 4.—The best parliamentarians held that this "concession" destroyed the right of the majority to recall a bill from a committee in any other manner than that specifically provided.

Joker No. 5.—The regular course for a bill coming from a committee is for it to go on general orders, the next step toward the statute books. This "concession" provided that it should "lie on the table," where it had little parliamentary advantage over being in committee.

The progressives demanded this reform in order that business might be kept moving. The reactionaries did not want any "time-limit rule" that would work, for they desired to defeat all reform measures by delaying and congesting business at the end of the session. Everyone who watched the last legislature knows that this rule was exactly what the Rules Committee must have intended it to be—a farcical failure. Under it there was delay and disorder and chaos at the close, a condition which accomplished the defeat of many a measure of the deepest fundamental importance. The session adjourned with final action pending on the statewide primary, the recall, the initiative and referendum, the income tax, etc., etc. If there had been even one day more a dozen vital laws might have been enacted. Had this rule not been full of jokers, and honestly enforced, the entire program of reform measures woud have been reached weeks before adjournment. Were it the only purpose of this book to give the main reason why the last session proved a cemetery for anti-corporation bills, it might well end here with the story of this "concession," for without this rule and the reactionary rules committee which created it no coterie of brewery representatives could have saved their masters by guarding the clock at the finish.

The vicious character of the rules extended in other directions. By providing for three times as many standing committees as were necessary they enabled the Speaker to pack the important ones with reactionaries and sidetrack the progressives upon committees which had little to do with legislation. This will be discussed in a later chapter. The rules gave the Speaker and his Committee on Rules almost absolute control of patronage—a most effective means of building an organization and of holding members "in line." Read Rule 35 on this point:

35. All propositions for appointment of employees of the House other than those provided by law shall be referred to the Committee on Rules, and no appointment shall be made unless reported favorably by said committee, or its report be overruled by three-fourths vote of the whole House, and said committee shall report to the House the amount of compensation that shall be paid each of said employees.

The new rules were reported by the Committee on Rules on the third day of the session, read and immediately adopted. They contained changes which the progressives desired a little time to consider, but when J. A. A. Burnquist made a motion to have them printed in the journal and acted upon the following day, it was voted down and the rules railroaded through. When once adopted they could not be changed

except by a two-thirds vote and the progressives were helpless, unless they could bring public opinion to bear upon the administration, as was done when the Nolan amendment was carried and the right of a majority to recall a bill from a committee established. Custom has decreed that it is the very extreme of insurgency to vote against the final adoption of the rules, yet Ernest Lundeen, of Minneapolis, did that, casting the only negative vote.

* * *

The progressives in the Senate also demanded a time limit rule, and a straightforward provision was reported by the Rules Committee of that body, as follows:

70. All Committees, except Finance Committee, to which any bill or resolution has been referred, shall return the same to the Senate with or without its recommendation and report not later than twenty-five days from the date of reference, unless at the formal request of the committee the Senate has granted a definite extension of the time, during which the bill or resolution may be held for consideration in committee.

However, this was not adopted with the other rules, but was referred back to the Committee on Rules. In the meantime some influence was at work and when the rule was re-reported to the Senate and adopted, it was practically the same as the vicious House law and certainly accomplished the same purpose.

* * *

After it had become apparent that the Rules Committee of the House was packed with politicians, Clinton Robinson offered this Resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Rules be increased by the addition of one member from each congressional district as follows: First District, John O. Rustad; Second District, W. A. Just; Third District, A. V. Anderson; Fourth District, C. N. Orr; Fifth District, W. A. Campbell; Sixth District, J. F. Lee; Seventh District, A. J. Peterson; Eighth District, Andrew Davis; Ninth District, H. A. Putnam; and one at large, J. N. Johnson.

It was referred to the Committee on Rules and later reported for "indefinite postponement" by that body, which recommendation was sustained by the House without a roll call. Ordinarily committees are appointed by the Speaker, and Mr. Robinson was asked why he had named the members in his resolution. "Because I wanted some progressives on the committee," he answered. Yet he was not Klemerized.

CHAPTER III.

HOW THE HOUSE WAS ORGANIZED.

"This house as at present organized with its sixty-two standing committees is a farce and a burlesque on the rights of the people of this great state of Minnesota. * * * Half of the membership are on committees that amount to nothing at all. * * * The committees are packed in the interest of the special interests and with the intent and purpose to defeat good and wholesome legislation."—Representative F. L. Klemer.

Growing out of the Klemer controversy, his colleague and fellow-insurgent, Dr. W. T. Stone, introduced a resolution making specific charges, and also demanding an impartial investigation into the whole matter of special interest domination of the legislature. A part of the long preamble was as follows: "The mover further believes an impartial investigation will bring to light facts and circumstances sufficient to convince impartial members that the election of the Speaker and the organization of the committees of this House were due in a large measure to the influence of the special interests and for the purpose of furthering and perpetuating the control of the government of this state by the said special interests."

There are districts in this state where the special interests indicated a friendliness toward the candidacy of certain statesmen by sending substantial contributions to aid in their election. Some of these checks were returned, after being photographed. Others were neither returned nor photographed. The brewery combine was obviously interested in the defeat of Mr. Burnquist for Speaker. I assume that if Mr. Klemer and Dr. Stone had been given an impartial investigating committee they would have gone into the situation herein suggested. And that ought to have been done. But it was not necessary for them to go outside the records of the session to prove their charges.

Twelve reactionary members were so placed upon the most important committees that they practically controlled the conduct of the legislature. The dozen thus entrusted with this opportunity and power were: L. D. Brown, of Little Falls; C. A. Congdon, of Duluth; R. C. Dunn, of Princeton; C. R. Fowler, of Minneapolis; John G. Lennon, of Minneapolis; George A. MacKenzie, of Gaylord; Albert Pfaender, of New Ulm; L. C. Spooner, of Morris; C. E. Stone, of St. Paul; Leonard Virtue, of Blooming Prairie; W. H. Wescott, of West St. Paul, and Harrison White, of Luverne.

First, let me explain how I classified reactionaries and progressives. The four supreme tests were: (1) The vote on the Nolan publicity amendment to the rules; (2) the roll call killing the Sulerud bill to give the people the right to change their own constitution by a majority of the votes cast for any amendment; (3) the first vote to advance an honest initiative and referendum bill; and (4) the vote censuring Klemer without a semblance of a trial or hearing on his charges of corruption. The vote on a number of progressive measures meant little, because the reactionary House leaders included some features which they knew the Senate would not endorse, and vice versa. The fact that both branches voted for many reforms which a lack of team work, or rather a subtle, skillfully contrived and executed lack of team work, defeated, proves this.

The Twelve—Ten of them were Republicans; two, Pfaender and Virtue, were Democrats. All of the republicans supported H. H. Dunn for Speaker. All of the twelve, excepting L. D. Brown, who did not respond to the roll call, voted against the Nolan amendment. All of them voted against the Sulerud constitutional change bill. Every one of the twelve voted against making the progressive initiative and referendum bill a special order where it could be acted upon speedily in the open with some chance of passage. The entire twelve voted to censure Klemer without a hearing. Mr. Pfaender was the only one of the twelve to vote against the attempt of the tax committee to kill the tonnage tax bill in committee, and he also voted against the measure on its final passage. All of them except R. C. Dunn, and Spooner who was absent, voted to take away from the majority the right to make a special order of a bill, thus giving one-third of the membership the power to defeat legislation by delaying action. This might be continued, but I have suggested sufficient to show the reactionary inclinations of the twelve. The same general basis of judgment was used to determine whether or not other members were for the conditions favored by the special interests.

The standing committees of which the twelve leading lieutenants of Speaker Dunn had absolute control were: (1) The crucial Committee on Rules, where they had all five places; (2) The Committee on General Legislation, next in importance, where they had nine out of seventeen places; and (3) the Committee on Taxes and Tax Laws, where they had nine out of seventeen places. They had eight out of twenty-one places on Appropriations and six out of fifteen on Temperance. Of the 75 places on these five most important committees, these twelve, or one-tenth of the membership of the House, had 37, or about half of the whole committee strength. On these same five committees, the most liberal construction of the word "progressive" could not muster more than 17 out of the 75, and they were not in control of any one of these committees.

Adding five more, making a list which includes the ten most important committees which the Speaker had to appoint, a comparison shows:

Name of Committee	Places by the Twelve	Other Reactionaries	Progressives
Rules	5	0	0
General Legislation	9	7	1
Taxes and Tax Laws	9	5	3
Appropriations	8	6	7
Temperance	6	6	5
Elections	4	8	5
Public Health and Pure Food	3	10	0
Reapportionment	8	21	6
Railroads	4	12	3
Legislative Expenses	0	4	1
Total places	56	79	31

Every informed person knows that one-third of a committee, with the harmony of act and inclination which characterizes those carrying out "a program," can control. The twelve had more than one-third of the total number of places on the ten committees which determined the results of the session. They had almost twice as many places on these committees as all of the forty-odd progressives put together. On these ten committees the ratio of reactionaries to progressives was almost 5 to 1.

The Twelve had six of ten chairmanships on these committees. They had 37 out of 75 places on the first five committees, while all of the Burnquist supporters were given only a total of 11 of these 75. The progressives who voted against Dunn for Speaker were given only 20 of the 166 places on the ten committees of paramount importance. Not

one of the four prohibitionists was named on any of these committees.

Compare the Twelve now with 43 progressives. Messrs. A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Burnquist, Campbell, Conley, Farley, Fisher, Harding, J. N. Johnson, Klemer, J. F. Lee, Lundeen, McMartin, Morton, Nolan, Rustad, A. J. Peterson, Putnam, Robinson, Sampson, Schwartz, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, and E. Warner—25—were not given a single place on the ten most important committees; while Messrs. Crane, Davies, Davis, Frankson, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, C. E. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, I. J. Lee, Lindberg, Orr, Palmer, J. E. Peterson, Rines, Skartum, Webb and Whiting—18—were given only a total of 28 of these places. The Twelve each had an average of nearly five places on these ten committees: forty-three progressives each an average of a little more than half a man on all the ten.

In these comparisons I have not considered either the Judiciary or Tri-County Committees for the reason that Speaker Dunn had little to do with them, more than to appoint a chairman, who in each case was a reactionary. The Judiciary Committee was composed of all the lawyers in the House and the Tri-County Committee of all the members from the three big counties, Hennepin, Ramsey, and St. Louis. Adding these two to the ten already considered gives the legislature all the standing committees that are really necessary or essential to the best interests of the people. If the whole membership of the House were distributed wisely among twelve committees it would not be possible to contrive a condition where a few could control legislation in the formative period and dominate the situation throughout the session.

Sixty-two standing committees affords the Speaker an opportunity to pack the few important ones according to the interests he serves and use the unimportant ones to sidetrack the progressives. As an example of this consider the committee assignments of F. L. Klemer.

Klemer—Logs and Lumber, Manufactures, Public Buildings, School for Defectives, Enrollment.

The total number of bills referred to all of these committees was five, which gave Mr. Klemer an opportunity to consider in committee only that number.

Here is a partial list of the committees which served no necessary purpose save that of giving the Speaker an opportunity to pigeonhole the progressives where they could do the least harm to the special interests, the total number of bills referred to each also being given: Soldiers' Home, 5; State Libraries, 5; Printing, 3; Immigration, 3; Manufactures, 2; Board of Control, 2; Logs and Lumber, 2; State Hospitals, 2; State Normal Schools, 3; Local Bills, 1; Public Buildings, 1; State Training School, 1; Sleeping Cars, 0; Binding Twine, 0; Horticulture, 0; Prison Labor, 0; School for Defectives, 0; School at Owatonna, 0; Enrollment, 0; Engrossment, 0.

Continuing the comparison, the records show that the Twelve had an opportunity to consider in committee 3,658 bills, or an average of more than 300 to each member, while all of the progressives who voted for Burnquist for Speaker, with the four prohibitionists, the one socialist and the two unvarying insurgent democrats, had an opportunity to consider in committee only 3,537 bills, or 121 less than the Twelve. The partiality of Speaker Dunn toward his own followers, who were with few exceptions reactionaries, is illustrated in a general way in the above comparison, but more specifically in the respective committee opportunities which he gave to Alva Henion, reactionary, and F. L. Klemer, insurgent. Both were new members and equal so far as experience counted; in all other respects Mr. Klemer's equipment for public service was superior. Mr. Henion's committee assignments enabled him to consider 205 bills; Mr. Klemer had an opportunity to consider just five in committee.

All of The Twelve were old members, which naturally gave them preference over new members upon committees. But W. I. Nolan, an insurgent of the highest ability and serving his fourth term was not given even a chairmanship—an unprecedented thing. Nor were such conspicuous progressives as J. N. Johnson, Kerry E. Conley, J. A. A. Burnquist, H. A. Putnam, John O. Rustad, I. J. Lee, N. J. Holmberg, J. T. Johnson, Finlay McMartin, C. E. Johnson, and John A. Sampson, all old members, placed where they could accomplish results for the people.

The machinery of legislation in the lower body was given into the hands of politicians, unprogressives and representatives of the special interests. That interpretation of the situation would only be further emphasized if I were to continue the comparisons already indicated in this chapter. A select list of reactionaries, about twenty in number, were placed upon so many committees that they could not attend half the meetings scheduled. On the other hand, an inspection of the House chamber at almost any time when the committees were in session showed practically all of the insurgents idle so far as committee room work was concerned.

Speaker Dunn proved himself a poor politician by overdoing the "packing of committees." A clever reactionary organizer would have presented some semblance of fairness in his appointments; but the organizing of the 1911 legislature was done apparently upon the theory that five reactionaries to one progressive was better than a ratio of three to two. The result was reports from these stacked committees so obviously crude and unjust that hardly a week passed in which the House did not rebuke the organization by overturning some Cannonistic action of a committee. Examples of this will come later.

I have it upon good authority that it was the intention to make the committee on General Legislation the "steering committee" of the administration. Therefore its personnel will be interesting at this time. Speaker Dunn appointed upon this committee: George H. Mattson, chairman; C. R. Fowler, R. C. Dunn, C. A. Congdon, George A. MacKenzie, W. D. Washburn, Harrison White, Alva Henion, W. H. Wescott, E. G. Perry, John P. Nash, C. E. Stone, John G. Lennon, George G. Reed, George M. Nye, L. C. Spooner, and Charles W. Bouck.

Now we are ready to consider the House machine.

CHAPTER IV.

MAKING AND MANIPULATING THE MACHINE.

"The system has been in full swing on other issues concerning the corporations and politicians. On Thursday the Robinson resolution calling for an investigation into the campaign receipts and expenditures of the state central committees was chloroformed, and interred before it had a chance to regain consciousness. The manner in which the administration forces rode roughshod over Robinson was a sight to make men and angels weep. First the Committee on General Legislation delayed consideration as long as it possibly could and then imposed the usual sentence—death by "indefinite postponement." Their report was opposed by the fighting insurgent father of the resolution. But shackled and muzzled, he was led to the slaughter. As soon as the matter was placed before the House Alex Nelson, of Ottertail County, shut off all debate by the cowardly device of moving "the previous question." His position was sustained by a majority, which of course prevented Mr. Robinson or any other member from setting forth his reasons for asking the inquiry into special interest activity in state politics. Then there was a general justification of votes against the investigation on the ground that the House had not sufficient evidence to warrant such action. And they voted it down. Whereupon there was great rejoicing among the brewers and professional politicians."—From News Letter, March 13, 1911.

On February 7th, Clinton Robinson introduced the resolution referred to, calling for a committee to inquire into the campaign contributions of the special interests in Minnesota. Back of it were a number of progressives outside of the legislature who were prepared to uncover a lot of political corruption, if given the machinery to investigate. Some members themselves would have been involved and, of course, there was a scurrying for cover. Politicians and special interests members joined hands to kill the resolution. First, John G. Lennon blocked it by giving "notice of debate." The next day Mr. Robinson attempted to force a vote upon it, and Mr. Lennon made a substitute motion that it be "indefinitely postponed." Then L. C. Spooner averted a roll call by carrying a motion that it be referred to the Committee on General Legislation, which had already become known as "the cemetery." This gave the reactionaries more time to muster their forces.

In spite of repeated protests, the Committee on General Legislation kept the resolution buried for more than a month. On March 9th it was reported by the committee for "indefinite postponement." Mr. Robinson made a substitute motion that it be adopted. A number dodged the roll call on the resolution, which was as follows, those voting "aye" being for the investigation and those voting "no" against it.

Those who voted in the affirmative were: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Borgen, Burnquist, Conley, Crane, Davies, Edwards, Frankson, Harding, Hillman, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Just, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lundeen, Minette, Morton, Nolan, Nygren, A. J. Peterson, Putnam, Robinson, Rustad, Schuler, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, and Wisniewski—31.

Those who voted in the negative were: Aker, And. Anderson, Boothroyd, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Denzer, R. C. Dunn, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Hafften, Henion, Herzberg, Holmberg, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, Keefe, Klemer, Kneeland, Knutson, Kunze, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, MacKenzie, McMartin, McNeil, Mattson, Mettling, A. Nelson, H. Nelson, Nye, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Papke, Perry, J. E. Peterson, O. Peterson, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Saggau, Sampson, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Virtue, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Webb, Wescott, White, Whiting, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—61.

An entire chapter might be written about this incident. It has a place here because it serves to suggest that there were many reactionary reasons for a House machine in addition to the main object of defeating reform legislation. The means and methods of creating a combination through which the politicians control for themselves and the special interests are interesting.

The first essential element is what I call "a corporation cabinet."

a carefully chosen coterie of the shrewdest politicians whose duty it is to make and manipulate the machine. Some members of the cabinet in this case were within, some without the legislature. Half of their task is accomplished with the election of a satisfactory Speaker who will "pack" the important committees as they desire. Without favorable rules they are badly handicapped and in constant danger of disruption. Assuming that the initial step, the selection of an obedient organizing officer, has been accomplished, the system of the "corporation cabinet" is about as follows:

1. **The Nucleus**—There can be no doubt that a number of members owed their election to liquor money and were directly controlled by the brewery combine. It is equally obvious that certain representatives were the political property of the steel trust. Others were there primarily to serve the railroad ring, or the public utility companies. All such statesmen responded easily to the efforts of the corporation cabinet, it only being necessary to get them to working in a pool.

2. **Chairmanships**—This influence brings no small number into the combination. It is a most important factor in the selection of the Speaker, and subsequently if his organization is attacked in any way or has a program of any kind to carry out those securing good chairmanships feel forced to fight with the administration. Some of the representatives chiefly responsible for Speaker Dunn's election were rewarded with chairmanships as follows: L. C. Spooner, Appropriations; Thomas Kneeland, Judiciary; R. C. Dunn, Taxes and Tax Laws; W. F. Kunze, Education; C. H. Warner, Public Lands; W. D. Washburn, Railroads. These were all county option men, yet stood with the organization through practically all of the session.

3. **Patronage**—The opportunity to pay political debts through the appointment of employees appeals to some and always results in recruits for the combination. It is claimed that every supporter of Speaker Dunn had the naming of at least one member of the third house. John Holten refused to vote at the speakership caucus, which may possibly be explained by the fact that he had a son who was a candidate for an appointive position. The Speaker and his Rules Committee had almost absolute authority over employees, which might have been used as a club to compel members to adhere religiously to the program.

4. **Appropriations**—Log-rolling, or trading in appropriations, is the chief instrument through which the cabinet constructs a controlling combination. It adds more to the machine than almost all other influences. As a rule, every member goes to St. Paul with the idea of obtaining some special thing for his district. The result is simply this: the reactionaries get possession of the organization in general and the committee on Appropriations in particular; then they are in a position to say to representatives desiring local appropriations, "You stand with us and we will pass your bills." The result is two-fold: (1) The country member secures something special for his community and thus becomes a big man at home by being small and "useful" in St. Paul; and (2) there are appropriations for the people to pay aggregating about $16,000,000.00, which doubles the tax levy of the state.

I shall recite one complete story to illustrate this practice. There might be a score of similar tales, but this one is typical and should suffice. P. L. Converse of Becker County wanted a fish hatchery for the City of Detroit. That was the beginning and the end of it.

Mr. Converse introduced H. F. No. 93, appropriating money for a fish hatchery at Detroit, on January 17th. The bill was referred to the Game and Fish Committee. In due time it was reported from that committee with a favorable recommendation and placed upon general orders.

On February 14th the bill was sent to the Appropriations Committee, "retaining its place on general orders." There it was pigeon-holed for a month and seven days while the work of disciplining and making sure of its author went on. Mr. Converse had voted for Dunn for Speaker and against the Nolan publicity amendment—satisfactory reactionary conduct. But at this period of the session he was wavering. He seemed uncertain on county option. The reactionaries also discovered that he had pledged his people to vote for a tonnage tax. But far worse than that, after voting with the majority against making a special order of the progressive initiative and referendum bill, Mr. Converse seconded a motion to reconsider the vote and voted with the insurgents on that vital question. So the pigeon-hole held its prey and it looked bad for the Detroit fish hatchery.

The Appropriations Committee kept his pet bill, while its sponsor fretted and fumed. Finally, according to the story he told to me, Mr. Converse went to the chairman of the sub-committee which was holding his bill and reiterated his demand that action be taken upon it. That was the day before the first test vote on the tonnage tax and it was proposed that if he would vote against that bill something would be done for the fish hatchery. "But I promised Bjorge"—began Mr. Converse. "To hell with the Norwegian," responded the statesman on the lid. Mr. Converse voted for the tonnage tax and his bill remained in the Appropriations Committee. Then there came a change.

About the middle of March a letter ready to sign, with one of Mr. Converse's envelopes, was found upon the desk of Dr. W. T. Stone where it had seemingly been dropped during a conversation with his colleague. Mr. Converse has denied either writing or mailing this letter and, I understand, also threatened a libel suit if I published it in this book. It was as follows:

March 17th, 1911.

"Mr. D. L. Durkin,
Frazee, Minn.

"Dear Sir: (This first part of the letter related to an appointment the writer was trying to secure for the one addressed, and is omitted. Then the letter goes on)—

"I have been working hard every day to get the Fish Hatchery for Detroit. I have been voting with the gang right along and if I don't succeed in getting it, it will be because when the time comes they will go back on their promise to me. It was reported out of the Fish and Game Committee immediately and is now in the Appropriations Committee, and the boys promised me yesterday to report it out at once.

"Yours very truly,".

Subsequent events tend to substantiate this letter, even if it never was written or sent by Mr. Converse. A few days later, the Klemer controversy arrived and Converse certainly "voted with the gang." On March 23rd the Appropriations Committee raised the embargo on his bill and it passed the House by the following vote five days later:

Those who voted in the affirmative were: Aker, And. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, L. D. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Clark, Converse, Davies, Davis, Denzer, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Henion, Herzberg, Hillman, Hoffman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, C. E. Johnson, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lundeen, Lydiard, MacKenzie, McMartin, McNeil, Mattson, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Morton, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Papke, Peters, O. Peterson, Ribenack, Rice, Robertson, Robinson, Saggau, Sampson, Schuler, Schwartz, C. E. Stone, Sulerud, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Voxland, C. H. Warner, Washburn, Wescott, White, Wisniewski, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—78.

Those who voted in the negative were: Conley, J. N. Johnson, Klemer, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, A. Nelson, Nygren, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Rustad, W. T. Stone, E. Warner and Whiting—15.

When the result was announced a number of cabinet officials and even some ordinary reactionaries looked over at Mr. Converse with knowing nods and smiles, as much as to say: "Didn't we tell you it would pass?"

5. **Ambitions**—Some statesmen cannot be reached by the reactionaries except through an appeal to their ambitions. Many a man will

yield to that influence, when none other would move him. George H. Mattson, although he voted for Burnquist, acted as one of Dunn's commissioners to settle the speakership contest, and during the early part of the session stood quite consistently with the organization. It was freely suggested about the capitol that he had been brought into the reactionary camp through his ambition to be Secretary of State. Whatever the reason, it should be said that Mr. Mattson reversed himself and fought with the insurgents during the closing weeks of the session. I know of members of both branches who were taken up onto a high mountain and given an enchanting view of the political universe which lay open before them, if they would adopt the "safe and easy" course. Senators Lende and Boyle, brilliant young men, were two of these. Both bade Satan to get behind them. Others were not so patriotic, or so strong.

6. **Flattery**—There are always some who like to be told through attentions of various kinds that they are great men. The opportunity to make speeches makes a strong appeal to weak men's vanity. It is my belief that Knute Knutson was one of the members amenable to this subtle influence.

7. **The Corporation Press**—Akin to the influence of flattery was the work of reporters in this respect. Members who would "play the game" with the reactionaries, even if their ability did not entitle them to any distinction, were praised and paraded before the people as great statesmen, while the insurgents were mentioned only when it was necessary and often in a manner to belittle their ability and discredit their intentions.

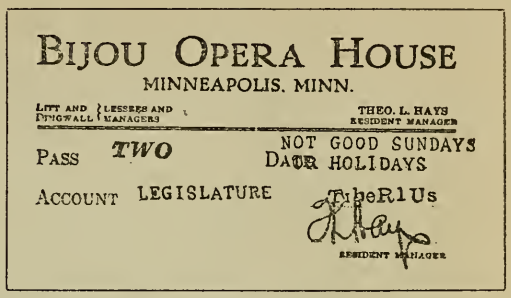
8. **Good Fellowship**—"You are hereby requested to be at the Ryan Hotel on Thursday evening, March 2nd, at 7:30 P. M. to join with the Representative Hurley in a journey to the Yoerg Brewery to be entertained to a Dutch Lunch. Yours for a good time, J. J. Hurley." This typical invitation to a "brewery banquet" was addressed to a democratic member who instead of attending gave me the letter.

On the last night before the big battle on the initiative and referendum bills, Albert Pfaender, bell wether of the democrats, had his crowd in one end of Carling's, while W. H. Wescott, rounder for the reactionary republicans, was holding forth with his followers in another part of the same cafe. Presumably it was figured, and rightly, too, the "good time" would not be forgotten when the voting took place. While organizing the democrats for this gladsome event, Mr. Pfaender called Clinton Robinson aside and invited him, explaining that he had been made the floor leader for his party and to show his appreciation of this honor he was giving a dinner to the boys at Carling's that evening. "What is Wescott showing his appreciation for?" asked Mr. Robinson, who further intimated his belief that the banquet had a deeper significance. Messrs. Farley and Robinson were two of the twenty-six House democrats who did not attend.

Free theater tickets represent another phase of the good fellowship influence. Understanding human nature and realizing that the acceptance of such a favor would make the recipient easier of control, some of the reactionary leaders made it possible for country members to secure passes to the theaters. Probably some of them did not know that the theaters had been "held up" for these tickets. This is how it happened at the last session, and it was the orthodox method: On January 16th, Charles W. Bouck introduced H. F. No 71, "A bill prohibiting theatrical performances on the sabbath," which was sent to "the cemetery," the Committee on General Legislation. Of course the bill died;

but the free ticket tank was tapped and it was possible for those controlling the pass output to place unsuspecting members under obligations to them.

Desiring some evidence I induced an insurgent friend to procure some theatre tickets, which he did from a Minneapolis member. One was photographed and looked like this:


BIJOU OPERA HOUSE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
LITT AND PINGWALL, LESSEES AND MANAGERS
THEO. L. HAYS, RESIDENT MANAGER
PASS TWO
NOT GOOD SUNDAYS OR HOLIDAYS
ACCOUNT LEGISLATURE
TiberIus
RESIDENT MANAGER

9. **Bribery**—I believe that the buying and selling of votes for so much cold cash has been reduced to the minimum; but there are many indirect ways of accomplishing the same result. Option schemes are sometimes used, as are also other methods almost too subtle for comprehension and so clever as to place both briber and bribee beyond the reach of the law. Poker has been a favorite means of bribery and during recent sessions there were three different "legislative games" patronized regularly by members. It worked like this: If the representative of some special interest or some "held-up" institution desired to get into the good graces of a certain Senator or Representative, it somehow happened that both would meet at the same poker table. Assuming that $100 would do the required business, during the night the outsider seeking legislative favors would lose that amount and the legislator would win it. Both understood why one lost and the other won, yet technically and legally it was not bribery.

10. **Blackmail**—Wine and women have enabled the cabinet to control many a member. In times past, when all other influences had failed, good men have been led into paths of intemperance and while intoxicated directed into the "red light district." Following that "orders" were rarely disobeyed.

At the last session a tragic thing resulted from this weapon of drink. It is a sad story, but every citizen in the state should know it. One of the staunchest insurgents was J. J. Anderson, of Alexandria. He was an excellent legislator, with the deepest convictions and most patriotic purposes. Clean, courageous and immovably opposed to special privilege in every form, he took his stand with the progressives and remained there to the end. Earlier in his life there was a period when he used intoxicants freely; but he conquered the old habit and for years before coming to the legislature had been master of his appetite. The brewery members knew of this weakness (they always possess each man's history from childhood up), and for honest John Anderson the session became more than a battle between special interests and the people. The enemies of good government wanted to control his conduct and with diabolical subtlety they labored to revive the old love of liquor. Think of this man's struggle! The idea of drink, drink, drink, was kept constantly before him for weeks. Finally the persistence of his persecutors prevailed. They induced him merely to taste. That was enough, for the flood gates of appetite gave way completely to the pushing, piled up, torrent of dozens of daily temptations and he fell before it. For a week he drank, drank, drank, and soon after adjournment, he died. The "system" had added murder to its other crimes.

* * *

Battling against all of these machine influences, always outnumbered, but acting under the wisest and most patriotic leadership I have ever seen, were this band of forty-three progressives, occasionally rein-

forced by a few others who wavered between the two elements: J. J. Anderson, J. A. A. Burnquist, Wm. A. Campbell, Kerry F. Conley, Ralph E. Crane, Jos. Davies, Andrew Davis, W. A. Fisher, Thomas Frankson, W. A. Harding, N. J. Holmberg, John Holten, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, F. L. Klemer, Iver J. Lee, J. F. Lee, R. J. Lindberg, Ernest Lundeen, Finlay McMartin, W. I. Nolan, Charles N. Orr, F. L. Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, H. A. Putnam, Henry Rines, John O. Rustad, John A. Sampson, K. G. Skartum, W. T. Stone, E. Warner, Henry P. Webb, and E. F. Whiting—35 republicans; Clinton Robinson, F. L. Farley, and Martin Schwartz—3 democrats; A. V. Anderson, Rufus P. Norton, C. L. Sulerud, and George H. Voxland—4 prohibitionists; and N. S. Hillman, socialist.

CHAPTER V.

KLEMERITIS AND STONE BRUISES.

Senatorial courtesy and tory tradition have decreed that it is unparliamentary for a member of any legislative body to tell the truth concerning his colleagues. Accordingly, when F. L. Klemer, of Faribault, charged that the committees of the House were "packed for the special interests," he created a sensation unprecedented and unparalleled in the annals of Minnesota law-making.

The "Klemer incident," with its antecedent conditions of corruption, had a most appropriate background—the Sulerud bill granting to the people the right to change their own constitution by a majority of the votes cast on any amendment. At present it requires a majority of all the votes cast at the election to adopt any constitutional amendment. The law which the Sulerud bill sought to change in the interest of the people was passed in 1897 through the influence and at the instigation of the brewers. W. W. Dunn, attorney and legislative agent of the Hamm Brewing Company and law-making representative in general of the brewery combine, was at that time a member of the House (he is now a state senator), and he introduced and pushed through the legislature the provision which Sulerud and the insurgents were trying to amend. By requiring a majority of all the votes of an election, it was made practically impossible ever to change the constitution. This safeguarded the brewers and all the other special interests, because most of the vital fundamental reforms such as the initiative and referendum, the recall, and woman suffrage, could come only through constitutional amendments. That is why the vote on the Sulerud bill is one of the best tests of the entire session. The only vote upon this measure resulted as follows:

For the Sulerud Bill Giving the People a Legitimate Chance to Change Their Own Constitution: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Converse, Crane, Farley, Frankson, Harding, Hillman, Holten, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, Klemer, I. J. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McNeil, Morton, A. Nelson, Nolan, O'Neill, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schwartz, Skartum, Sulerud, Voxland, and E. Warner—35.

Against the Sulerud bill: Aker, And. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Congdon, Davies, Davis, Denzer, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Henion, Herzberg, Hoffman, Holmberg, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Knapp, Kneeland, Knutson, Kunze, J. F. Lee S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, MacDonald, MacKenzie, McMartin, Mattson, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, H. Nelson, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, Orr, Palmer, Papke, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Rines, Saggau, Schuler, Spooner, C. E. Stone W. T. Stone, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Washburn, Webb, Wescott, White, Wisniewski, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—77.

Mr. Klemer made his sensational charges on March 22nd when the Judiciary Committee was astraddle this Sulerud bill and slowly strangling it into insensibility. The committee had reported the bill for "indefinite postponement" and it was upon Sulerud's substitute motion that the bill be advanced to general orders that the test vote was taken. The administration forces had pummelled almost the last expiring gasp from the helpless measure when Mr. Klemer, mild and unarmored, entered the arena. John G. Lennon had just reuttered that convenient sentiment, always and forever the refuge of the reactionary—"stand by

the committee; we must uphold the report of the committee." Then Mr. Klemer arose and in a soft, gentle, voice reminded him and the House that the committees were packed for the special interests. The howl that went up proved that his charges were true. If unfounded and "spoken only in the heat of debate," they would have been jokingly cast aside—which would have been an excellent way for the reactionaries. But Klemer had touched a tender spot. They were guilty.

There was another reason for their unrestrained fury. Mr. Klemer is a slender gentleman and very, very meek. His face is kindly and his voice exceedingly sweet and tender in all its tones. That was why the reactionaries blundered. Up to that time Klemer had stood consistently with the insurgents, but had said little. He was mild and it seemed safe, perfectly safe, for the administration machine to proclaim their political purity at his expense. Others had made statements more "unparliamentary" than his. W. I. Nolan, of Minneapolis, had asserted that the brewers were busy as bees in the present legislature. Special interest members will stand for almost any accusation rather than that they are subject to the unscrupulous brewery combine. But they knew that Mr. Nolan was experienced and forceful and fearless. It was different with Mr. Klemer. He did not look loaded, so the bulldozing brigade proceeded to make an example of him.

A number of machine members simply could not restrain their "righteous indignation," and with a display of voices and fists and teeth intended to induce the mild-mannered Mr. Klemer to retire through the keyhole, they demanded that he apologize. Next, Speaker H. H. Dunn hied himself into the blustering business and threatened physical restitution for the insult. Mr. Klemer, still meek and mild, arose to reply—and, of course, to apologize. But he didn't. The blustering had been overdone. Instead, he reiterated his charges. Whereupon the bluffing began again and R. C. Dunn moved the appointment of a committee of three to inquire into the Klemer charges. Speaker Dunn appointed R. C. Dunn, L. C. Spooner, and Albert Pfaender.

The following morning this specially packed investigating committee reported in part as follows:

"We find that the language used was not only highly improper and grossly unparliamentary, but also that it constituted a grave and serious reflection upon the honor and integrity of the Honorable Speaker of this House and upon the entire membership of this House, and we recommend that the said member be required forthwith to apologize to the Honorable Speaker of this House and to the members of this House in unconditional language and that in addition thereto he be required forthwith to specifically retract the charges made and each and every thereof, or that in default thereof, he be censured therefor by a vote of this House."

Instead of apologizing, Mr. Klemer made this statement:

"Mr. Speaker: In my remarks yesterday on the floor of this House, I said that the committees of this House were packed in the interests of the special interests. I simply said what I believed to be true from what I have learned since my election; I am not the only person in this state who entertains this belief. I am simply voicing the sentiments of a large proportion of the general public. A great deal of indignation has been expressed on the floor of this House on account of my remarks, and I have been asked to make a public apology in order to exonerate the Speaker and his appointees. I wish to say frankly that anything I might say at this time would not help to change public sentiment or add any honor to any member of this body. This matter has been given wide publication in the public press and will be discussed generally throughout the state.

"I am willing to apologize for what I have said if, after a thorough and impartial investigation by this House it shall appear that my convictions and the convictions of the public are not well founded. I therefore propose, Mr. Speaker, that a committee of seven members be appointed, of which I shall be allowed to name three members and the Speaker three and the six members so appointed be authorized to name the seventh member, for the purpose of investigating the charges that I have made, and that such committee be given full power to subpoena witnesses and compel the production of books and papers bearing on this question, and I beg leave to express the wish that it may conclusively appear that this House has been organized in the interests of the people of this state and not packed for the special interests. Until such time, I respectfully request that my apology be deferred."

Next, Mr. Klemer further surprised and completely routed the reactionaries by offering the resolution which follows. At this point oc-

curred the most unparliamentary incident of the whole controversy, when Speaker Dunn sneeringly referred to the Klemer resolution as being unfit for consideration by any parliamentary body. And the Speaker was saved from presenting it to the House by Mr. Spooner's motion for a recess. The reactionaries sought safety from the meek, mild little man from Faribault in adjournment. His resolution was as follows:

Be it Resolved, by the House of Representatives, that a committee of seven be named, three members of said committee to be named by the mover of this resolution, and three members of such committee to be appointed by the Speaker, and that the six members so appointed be authorized to name the seventh member of said committee; that the committee so named be constituted a committee of this House for the purpose of investigating the charges made by me yesterday, namely, "That this House and its committees have been packed in the interests of the special interests," and that such committee be given full powers to subpoena and swear witnesses, to compel the production of books and papers, and that such committee be required to report back to the House all the testimony and proceedings in the premises.

Mr. Klemer had put them in a desperate dilemma. I believe that the reactionaries reasoned like this: If we give Klemer an impartial committee, appointed partly by himself, he will prove his charges; so we can't do that. But if we attempt to discipline him without the hearing he demands, if will be so obviously unfair that the people will not stand for the injustice. Yet the reactionaries risked the latter. The next day, March 24th, they attempted a vote of censure against Klemer. But they could muster only 68 votes, whereas they needed 80 to do the deed at that time under a suspension of the rules. The vote was as follows:

To Censure Klemer Without a Hearing: Aker, And. Anderson, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Denzer, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Hauge, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hoffman, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, MacKenzie, McDonald, McNeil, Mettling, Moriarity, H. Nelson, Nye, O'Brien, O'Neill, Orr, Papke, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Ribenack, Rice, Robertson, Saggau, Schuler, Schwartz, Spooner C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Wescott, White, Whiting, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—68.

For Klemer: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Crane, Davies, Davis, Farley, Frankson, Harding, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Knutson, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Mattson, Minette, Morton, A. Nelson, Nolan, Nygren, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, and Wisniewski—44.

The reactionaries rested and thought it over until March 27th. They realized that something would have to be done, and the unequal fight was resumed—I say unequal because the machine had the majority and the inclination to use the "steam roller." Mr. Pfaender had read into the resolution of censure and the records a long statement which had been prepared for Mr. Klemer to sign. At this point Mr. Klemer made the following apology for "unparliamentary" language but refused to retract the truth of his statement:

"Mr. Speaker: In my remarks before this House last Wednesday I believe that my language was unparliamentary, and I hereby wish to offer an apology to the Speaker and the members of this House in so far as my language was unparliamentary."

Still ignoring his resolution demanding an impartial investigation, not even having made it a part of the records, the House reactionaries censured Mr. Klemer by the following vote:

Those Who Voted to Censure Klemer Were: Aker, And. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Congdon, Converse, Denzer, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Hauge, Herzberg, Hillman, Hoffman, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Kelly, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Nash, H. Nelson, Nye, O'Brien, O'Neill, Orr, Papke, Perry, Peters, Pfaender, Ribenack, Rice, Robertson, Saggau, Schuler, Spooner, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Wescott, and White—66.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Crane, Davies, Davis, Edwards, Farley, Frankson, Harding, Holmberg, Holten, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Knutson, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, A. Nelson, Nolan, Nygren, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robinson, Rustad, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, E. Warner, Webb, and Wisniewski—42.

Then Mr. Klemer reintroduced his resolution for an investigation and moved its adoption. In the turmoil which followed, Speaker Dunn, who was on the floor of the House, suddenly moved that Mr. Klemer and Dr. W. T. Stone be ordered before the bar of the House to specify which committees had been "packed" and by which members. Dr. Stone was thus honored because in the debate he had expressed the opinion that Klemer had only told the truth. J. N. Johnson offered an amendment to the motion of Speaker Dunn that they be given until the morning of March 29th to prepare their charges in writing. But the reactionaries did not want specific charges in writing and voted down the Johnson amendment, 66 to 40, as follows:

To Give Klemer and Stone Time To Prepare Their Charges: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Crane, Davies, Edwards, Farley, Ferguson, Frankson, Harding, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, Nolan, Orr, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robinson, Rustad, Skartum, Sulerud, E. Warner, and Webb—40.

For The Steam Roller Method: Aker, And. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Congdon, Converse, Denzer, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Herzberg, Hoffman, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Knapp, Kneeland, Knutson, Kunze, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Nash, A. Nelson, H. Nelson, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, O'Neill, Palmer, Papke, Perry, Peters, Pfaender, Ribenack, Robertson, Saggau, Schuler, Spooner, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Wescott, White, Wisniewski, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—66.

Speaker Dunn's motion then carried and Mr. Klemer and Dr. Stone were ordered before the bar of the House. An attempt was made to heckle and embarrass them, but both refused to make specific charges, without being given time to prepare them in writing.

Following that, Speaker H. H. Dunn was ill for several days, John G. Lennon being elected Speaker pro tem, and there were no further incidents or developments in the controversy until April 4th. Then Dr. Stone made specific charges, and more, too, in a resolution in part as follows:

Whereas, On the 27th day of March, 1911, F. L. Klemer, a member of this House, was censured for using unparliamentary language and for making certain charges against the Speaker and the organization of this House, which appear more fully in the record of the journal, reference to which is hereby made; and

Whereas, Upon the same day, upon a motion made by the Speaker of this House and carried by the vote of said Speaker and other members against whom the charges had been made, in violation of the rules of this House and contrary to all parliamentary practice, said F. L. Klemer and W. T. Stone, members of this House, were called to the bar of the House and a demand made for an immediate specification of the individuals and the committees upon which is based the belief that "Committees are packed in the interest of the interests;" and

Whereas, The F. L. Klemer and W. T. Stone before the bar of the House, each requested additional time in which to formulate a proper statement of the basis of these charges, which request was preemptorily refused by the House; and

Whereas, It appears from the Journal of the House and the records of the proceedings of the present session that 12 members control the important committees and through them the less important; and

Whereas, Said W. T. Stone proposes to show by the records and journal of this House and by other testimony that the most important legislation that has come before this legislature, including the bills on the initiative, referendum, recall, corrupt practice act, and direct primary have been controlled and killed by the committees above named. That these committees are not only packed but jointly packed, there is no lack of proof. Members of this House have boasted that they are able to hold up any bill they see fit and are able to kill any legislation proposed. This has been done time and again; and

Whereas, The charges for which F. L. Klemer and W. T. Stone were brought before the bar of this House cannot in fairness be pronounced untrue without the most ample investigation for the reason that it is common knowledge throughout the state and country that there is a well defined political faction existing in both parties not only within the State of Minnesota, but within every state in the Union, and in the National Goverument, known as "Standpatters" or "Reactionaries." That a considerable number of this faction have been elected through the influence of the corporations and individuals enjoying special privileges. That the position and aim of this faction in the government of the different states and in the National Government is to prevent any legislatiou that will increase and further government by the people, or restrict special privileges. That in the State of Minnesota there is a well known combination of corporations of this character including the railroads, the breweries,

and liquor interests, the street railway companies of the three large cities, the U. S. Steel Company and the Medical Trust, with other combinations and interests; and

Whereas, the mover of these resolutions sincerely believes that an impartial investigation will show that at the last election the corporations and interests above mentioned and known as the special interests contributed large sums of money to the State Central Committee of the Republican party, of which Ex-Senator E. E. Smith was chairman, for the purpose, among other things, of electing as many members as possible of this House favorable to the said special interests; and

Whereas, The mover further believes an impartial investigation will bring to light facts and circumstances sufficient to convince impartial members that the electon of the Speaker and the organization of the committees of this House were due in a large measure to the influence of the special interests and for the purpose of furthering and perpetuating the control of the government of this State by the said special interests above mentioned; and

Whereas, The Legislature of the State of Minnesota is the only body in the State that has full power and authority to order an investigation that is public and that can properly lay the facts in relation to the control of this State Government by said interests before the people; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota, that a committee of seven be constituted from the members of this House, three of whom to be selected by the mover of this resolution, three to be selected by the Speaker and the six so named to choose a seventh member, for the purpose of investigating the matters herein set forth. That said committee is given full power and authority to subpoena witnesses, compel the production of books and papers, to take testimony under oath, concerning the funds used by the State Central Committees of both the Republican and Democratic parties, during the last campaign in the election of members of this Legislature. That it be further empowered and directed to investigate the nomination and election of the Speaker of this House, the appointment of the committees of said House and the organization of the committees and further authorized and directed to hold public sessions and to permit the mover of this resolution to be represented before the committee by attorneys to be selected by him without cost to the State, who shall be allowed to examine witnesses and to designate such witnesses as they desire to be called. That said committee is further requested and directed to keep a stenographic report of the testimony taken before them and to report the same back to this House with such recommendations as to them may seem proper.

Neither the Klemer nor Stone resolutions demanding impartial investigations was ever acted upon, and the legislature adjourned without having in any way met the issue of corruption raised by these resolutions.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SPEAKERSHIP CONTEST.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives should be judged: (1) by the character and political program of his supporters; (2) by his attitude toward political plunder as that element is represented in patronage and supplies; (3) by his Committee on Rules and the fundamental legislative laws which are made to govern the session; and (4) by his organization of the House. Some of these avenues of judgment have been approached in preceding chapters. The Klemer-Stone clash with the reactionary organization also served to emphasize the importance of the speakership and to prepare you for the story of the contest for that position. Before beginning that recital let me present one concrete incident bearing upon the subject, which was thus discussed in a news letter April 8th:

"Were you watching the lower House of the Legislature last Wednesday? A most interesting and significant thing happened. First, let me offer a few explanations and introduce a few characters.

"Previously the Senate had passed a bill extending the primary to the nomination of state officers. The House reactionaries did not intend that this bill should become a law. Accordingly it was sent to the Elections Committee where it was to be held indefinitely. The Elections Committee had a reactionary chairman and a reactionary majority, which was a good and sufficient guarantee to the special interests and professional politicians that this primary bill would not be reported out in time for its passage. In order to understand the situation you must know that business had become so congested in the House as to render the assassination of any measure safe and easy. That is the modern method—the one Congress employed to kill the non-partisan tariff commission. At that time there were so many bills on general orders and the calendar that there was not the least possibility of any fundamental reform being reached unless it was advanced out of its regular order. A reactionary ruler and reactionary rules were at hand to see that no important progressive measure was given precedence. A reactionary one-third, under the Cannonistic conditions which prevailed, could delay and defeat any and all reforms, and this desire for death included a number of measures besides the primary.

"Next consider a vastly different sort of measure. Minneapolis has a liquor license zone. It limits the territory in which saloons can legally exist. Two large hotels—the Dyckman and the Radisson—are outside this zone. A bill was introduced to make an exception of these two hotels and permit them to dispose of intoxicants. The people of Minneapolis were violently opposed to the granting of this special privilege, which amounts to an extension of their patrol limits. Hence it can readily be seen that this particular bill must have had substantial impetus, personal and otherwise, to make it move under such conditions.

"Now meet the characters in the play. Speaker H. H. Dunn was ill and unable to act his part. His understudy, the speaker pro-tem, was John G. Lennon. Mr. Lennon is a reactionary and an exponent of the modern method—congestion and obstruction. He held that a majority had not the power to advance a measure at a critical time. This speaker pro-tem was opposed to the primary, and progressive ideas generally. On the other hand, he was author of the hotel license bill and entrusted with the responsibility of passing it through the House. I next present a group of progressives, naming only two, N. J. Holmberg, of Renville, and Henry Rines, of Mora. Between forty and fifty others might be included in the list of those who carried on the almost hopeless fight for fundamental reforms. But Messrs. Rines and Holmberg acted the stellar parts on this occasion.

"Let us assume that this happened before the session started that morning: Mr. Holmberg sought the speaker pro-tem and informed him that the progressives were determined to unlock the death grasp of the Elections Committee upon the throat of the primary bill and bring that measure before the House where it could be acted upon in the open. Still assuming, the speaker pro-tem sought to discourage this insurgency by informing the exponent of progress that the Chair would hold that it took a two-thirds vote to recall a bill from a committee and make it a special order. Of course, Mr. Holmberg was sorry and to emphasize his grief probably threatened to connect the incident with the Klemer-Stone charges of special interest control of the organization. Whereupon the speaker pro-tem's voice became lower and more oily, and he made this proposition to the progressive leader: If you and a few of your followers will vote for my hotel bill, I'll let the primary bill be advanced in this way—when we reach motions and resolutions in the order of business, I will find an excuse to vacate the chair and will call upon any one you name to preside.

While I am out you can make your motion and your man will rule that it takes only a majority vote to make a special order of the bill. Mr. Holmberg accepted in considerably less than a second and Mr. Rines, another dependable progressive, was selected to preside during the brief, but epochical period during which Mr. Lennon was summoned from the chamber.

"The rest is simple and comparatively unimportant. Mr. Lennon vacated the chair, according to contract. Mr. Rines was called upon to preside. Next Mr. Holmberg moved that the primary bill be recalled from the Elections Committee and made a special order for April 12th. A reactionary raised the point of order that it would require eighty votes to carry the motion. *Acting Speaker Rines ruled that a majority could do whatever they pleased with the bill. That settled the question and the reactionaries, after being defeated, clambered aboard the band wagon. All present, excepting Greene, Hoffman, Lydiard, H. Nelson, O'Brien, and C. E. Stone, voted with the progressives.

"Do you comprehend what all this means? The fate of the primary election bill depended absolutely and alone upon the man in the chair. It should not require very many more expensive lessons in politics like the present session to convince people of the paramount importance of the speakership."

* * *

The result of the elections made the legislative situation look threatening to the politicians and their masters. When the battle of ballots was over it was apparent that the brewery combine had won a safe majority against county option, but there was a general demand for the initiative and referendum, the recall, extension of the primary and other progressive measures, all of which menaced the political supremacy of the brewers and associated special interests. Their only safeguard lay in a reactionary organization of the House—which meant the election of a "safe" Speaker.

J. A. A. Burnquist, of St. Paul, a progressive with an excellent legislative record, was the first to announce his candidacy for the speakership, the public being informed on September 3rd, 1910, that he was an aspirant for the position. The belief is general that the reactionaries had agreed upon their candidate, H. H. Dunn, of Albert Lea, long before this time. But he was not publicly in the field until all indications pointed to the success of Mr. Burnquist. It was probably a part of the game to keep Mr. Dunn in the background and thus encourage other progressives to enter the race and divide the Burnquist strength, which was the way the insurgents were finally defeated.

As the crisis of the contest approached, the only candidates were J. A. A. Burnquist and H. H. Dunn, progressive and reactionary, respectively. Mr. Burnquist seemed certain of success. He had been given repeated assurances of support from several of the Hennepin county delegation and was generally the choice of county option members from all sections of the state, especially the Seventh and Ninth congressional districts. Mr. Dunn was favored openly by reactionary republicans like John G. Lennon and others of the political character of MacKenzie and Wescott. There is evidence also that he was the choice of reactionary state officials and "alumni coaches." Nor can it be disputed that political agents of the brewers were active in his behalf.

Through strategy, spoils and misrepresentation, the supporters of Mr. Dunn succeeded in overcoming the handicap of the earlier situation, and defeated the progressive candidate. This is how it was done.

1. Dividing the Progressives.—The reactionaries played the old, old game of bringing other candidates into the field and scattering the strength of Mr. Burnquist, thus creating dissension and delay until such time as they could bring enough recruits into their camp to win. This had to be done in the Seventh and Ninth districts where the progressives were strongest. At the proper time for their purposes, J. T. Johnson, of Fergus Falls, began to be "mentioned" as a speakership

*Speaker Dunn would probably have ruled, as did Mr. Rines, that a majority could make a special order of a bill, which does not affect my point, that of the presiding officer's power to control legislation.

candidate. Upon Mr. Spooner's invitation, Mr. Johnson went to Morris for a conference, which gave further impetus to his candidacy. But events in this direction soon traveled too fast for the reactionaries. From their standpoint two dangers developed out of the Johnson candidacy: (1) it grew in the Ninth district to such an extent that there was a remote possibiltiy that he might win; and (2) Mr. Johnson was a bona fide progressive who would hardly consent to having his following "delivered" to the enemy.

Neither of these dangers appeared to apply to Mr. Spooner, so he became the candidate who ultimately accomplished the "dividing" which defeated the progressives. The Seventh congressional district caucussed at Willmar on November 28th and those present adopted a resolution inviting Mr. Spooner to be a candidate, but supporting Mr. Burnquist in case Mr. Spooner did not enter the race. Most of the Twin City papers published the misleading information that the Willmar meeting had unanimously indorsed Mr. Spooner for Speaker. Following this, and influenced no doubt by the misrepresentation of what actually was done by the Seventh district, the Ninth congressional district caucussed at Crookston November 30th and indorsed Mr. Spooner.

The day previous, November 29th, the Fourth Congressional District caucussed on the speakership at the Merchants Hotel in St. Paul, all of the delegation being present excepting C. E. Stone. Mr. Burnquist was endorsed by a vote of six to two, Messrs. Perry and Greene opposing the endorsement. Almost immediately the brewery interests in Ramsey county became busy and Messrs. Perry, Fuchs and Jelinek signed a call for another meeting of the Ramsey delegation the next day, at which a steering committee was appointed and a resolution adopted which practically rescinded the previous action in behalf of Burnquist. A St. Paul business man overheard a conversation in a St. Paul brewery in which it was stated that "it took us three hours" to get one of the men to change from Burnquist to their candidate. When the Fourth district caucussed again, Burnquist had only three votes.

At a meeting of the Northern Development Association in Brainerd, December 1st and 2nd, attended largely by legislators, it was intended to settle the speakership contest. Mr. Spooner had developed his full strength which, of course, was insufficient for him to win. It had seemingly served the "dividing" purpose and all that remained was the "getting them together" process of the Dunn leaders.

There was an attempt to rally the insurgents but the mischief had been accomplished and the combination of alleged progressives had a sufficient number ready for "delivery" to elect the reactionary candidate. On December 5th the Seventh Congressional district held a second caucus at Granite Falls, and nine out of eleven, either in person or by proxy, adopted these resolutions:

"We, the undersigned, members elect of the Seventh Congressional District, assembled at Granite Falls, December 5th, 1910, adopt the following resolution:

Whereas a majority of the members elect of said district had previously in caucus in said district, held at Willmar, November 28th, 1910, promised their vote and support to Mr. J. A. A. Burnquist, of St. Paul, for Speaker of the next House; and,

Whereas at said caucus a large number of said members who had so pledged themselves were absent; and,

Whereas, at said caucus a resolution was passed inviting Mr. L. C. Spooner to become a candidate for Speaker, and to support said Mr. Burnquist in the event that Mr. Spooner would not become a candidate; and,

Whereas the members elect of this district who were absent at said caucus at Willmar refused to concur in said action taken at said caucus held at Willmar; and,

Whereas they have come to the conclusion that said Mr. Spooner cannot receive the nomination;

Therefore, Be it Now Resolved, That we unanimously vote to rescind the action at the Willmar caucus and to pledge ourselves to vote for and support to the end Mr. J. A. A. Burnquist."

2. Boarding the Band Wagon.—Despite this action, which was known to them, on the same evening the Hennepin county delegation met and indorsed Mr. Dunn. At that meeting it was represented to the Minneapolis members that Mr. Dunn had the unanimous support of the First, Second and Third Congressional Districts and was therefore certain of election. The following day, when the Dunn leaders were trying to carry a caucus of the First district, which at the time of the Minneapolis meeting stood only six out of eleven for Dunn, they argued that the action of Hennepin county made his election sure and that the band wagon was both comfortable and commodious. Nor did Mr. Dunn ever have the unanimous support of either the Second or Third districts. The Spooner candidacy paved the way, and the clever manipulation of misrepresentations as to the real status of the contest, together with the endorsement of Hennepin county at the critical time, completed the stampede to Dunn which cost the state all that has been suggested in preceding chapters.

April 22nd, after the final adjournment of the legislature, the Saturday Lunch Club of Minneapolis, devoted a meeting, attended by 150 of its members, to a review of the records of the Hennepin county delegation. This militant reform organization had taken an active interest in the legislative elections and was largely responsible for the successful candidacy of more than a majority of the Minneapolis house members. On this occasion Mr. S. R. Child, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Club, spoke on the subject of the speakership, in part, as follows:

"The Saturday Lunch Club had no set legislative program. The only principles enumerated were those as a general basis of selecting candidates for the legislature and were the following:

"1. A candidate should be a man of strong character, with a record for honorable dealings, with convictions on matters of public policy, and capable of maintaining his position with force and efficiency.

"2. He should show a favorable attitude toward county option and be opposed to any extension of the patrol limits of the City of Minneapolis.

"3. He should show a disposition to reform the rules of the legislative body.

"4. He should have a higher regard for people than for property and for community interests than for private interests.

"5. He should show a favorable attitude towards the initiative and referendum."

"I would strongly advise that in the next campaign we add a sixth principle, or pledge, as follows:

"We recognize that in the state legislature there is a party representing the special interests whose supreme effort is to select the speaker, thus controlling patronage, committee assignments and to a great extent influencing legislation. To this party we are unalterably opposed. Will you pledge yourself if elected, not to surrender yourself upon the question of the organization to that party?"

Continuing, Mr. Child said: "This Club endorsed as progressive Kunze, Palmer, Fowler, Fisher, Washburn, Kneeland, Lundeen, Campbell and Nolan. It strongly opposed Lennon, Nash, Lydiard and Nye as reactionaries on their record. Those four reactionary members were for Dunn from the start, while the nine progressives were presumed to be for some progressive member. That these nine should have yielded to the four was another case of the lion and the lamb lying down together, but wonderful to relate—'the lion inside the lamb'."

Then followed a clear cut recital of how the Hennepin county "progressives" had been stampeded for Dunn and what each had received from the organization, presumably in consideration of their support, and in this connection Mr. Child pointed out that Messrs. Nolan and Lundeen, who refused to climb aboard the band wagon and voted for Burnquist, were the only Minneapolis republicans who were not awarded with chairmanships.

3. Patronage and Chairmanships.—It is conceded by the keenest politcal observers that Mr. Burnquist could have won the Speakership if

he had made the usual promises; but he refused to barter away a single piece of plunder or to be bound by a single "concession" in reference to the organization. On the other hand assurances were given to those supporting Dunn that they would be "cared for" and it is asserted on good authority that every member who voted for Mr. Dunn was given the appointment of at least one employee. W. H. Wescott, the professional politician who was most active in the Speakership fight, did most of the "promising," perhaps far in excess of his authority or ability to deliver, but it had the desired effect and undoubtedly influenced enough members to decide the contest. As has been shown in the chapter on the House organization, the best committee chairmanships were bestowed upon Dunn's supporters, Spooner, Kneeland, R. C. Dunn, Wescott, MacKenzie, Congdon, Washburn, Perry and L. D. Brown getting the choicest plums.

* * *

Mr. Burnquist was criticised for continuing the fight to the beginning of the session. The advocates of "harmony" urged him to withdraw when it became apparent that his strength had been successfully "divided." But he refused, and no more patriotic thing was ever done. He knew that if he eliminated himself it would mean either Dunn or Spooner, both reactionary, so he kept up the fight for progressive principles.

The republican caucus of House members, which finally settled the contest, was held on the evening before the opening of the session. The followers of both Dunn and Burnquist held meetings previous to the caucus and each selected three commissioners authorized to make final arrangements. Mr. Dunn's commissioners were L. C. Spooner, R. C. Dunn and Geo. H. Mattson, although the latter voted for Burnquist in the caucus. Mr. Burnquist's commissioners were W. I. Nolan, Andrew Davis and Kerry E. Conley.

At the republican caucus held in the House Chamber at 8 o'clock p. m., January 2nd, H. H. Dunn was nominated for Speaker by L. C. Spooner and J. A. A. Burnquist by W. I. Nolan. Mr. Dunn's nomination was seconded by Messrs. MacKenzie, Fowler and Hopkins. Messrs. J. N. Johnson and Ernest Lundeen seconded the nomination of Mr. Burnquist.

The vote of the caucus was as follows:

For Dunn—Aker, Andrew Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Campbell, Congdon, Christie, Converse, Crane, Denzer, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Ferguson, Fisher, Fowler, Frankson, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Hauge, Healy, Henion, Hoffman, Hopkins, Jelinek, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, MacKenzie, McNeil, Nash, A. Nelson, H. Nelson, Nye, Palmer, Papke, Perry, O. Peterson, Reed, Rice, Spooner, C. E. Stone, C. H. Warner, Washburn, Wescott, White and H. H. Dunn—55.

For Burnquist—J. J. Anderson, Burnquist, Conley, Davis, Harding, Holmberg, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Knutson, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Mattson, Nolan, O'Neill, Orr, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robertson, Rustad, Sampson, E. Warner, and Webb—29.

John Holten, although present at the caucus, asked to be excused from voting. Joseph Davies, K. G. Skartum, W. T. Stone and E. F. Whiting, Burnquist supporters, did not arrive in time to attend the caucus.

Among those voting for Mr. Dunn, W. A. Campbell, Ralph Crane, W. A. Fisher, Thos. Frankson and F. L. Palmer opposed the reactionary machine through all the session and did excellent work with the insurgents. Of those voting for Mr. Burnquist, Knute Knutson, conspicuously, and Donald Robertson, at times, stood with the reactionaries.

* * *

Although Mr. Burnquist should have controlled the caucus of the

Republican party, which was the majority and, according to precedent, the organizing party, yet I do not believe that even then it would have been possible for him to be elected Speaker. The incumbency of that position meant too much to the brewery interests for them ever to consent to the seating of a progressive of his uncompromising character. I am convinced that if Mr. Burnquist had been able to control the votes of all the county option republicans in the caucus, which would have given him a majority of that party, the reactionary republicans, would have bolted and joined with the anti-county option democrats, electing either Dunn or some democrat like Pfaender. If an unprecedented "bolt" of that kind had been necessary, judging members by their records through the session, the result would have been about as follows:

For Dunn or Pfaender—Republicans, 43; democrats, 23; total, 66, or a majority of 5.

For Burnquist—Republicans, 46; prohibitionists, 4; democrats, 3; socialist, 1; total, 54.

But nothing of that revolutionary nature was necessary, and the triumph of Mr. Dunn in the republican caucus left undisturbed the "party solidarity" when the formal vote was taken on the opening day. Mr. Dunn received the total republican vote, except that of Alex McNeil who was detained at home by quarantine, and the 26 democrats voted for Albert Pfaender. The four prohibitionists voted for C. L. Sulerud. N. S. Hillman, the lone socialist, could not with modesty nominate and support himself, so voted with the majority.

CHAPTER VII.

GORDON AND THE OLD GUARD.

At the time of the Klemer excitement in the House some one suggested that the Senate committees also were "packed" and Lieutenant-Governor Gordon is reported as answering: "They are packed—with the best men in the Senate—and I did it all myself." That was quite generally true. For the first time in a decade, the most important committees were given into the hands of progressives and the remnants of the old guard machine were placed in the less consequential positions. The upper body was organized in the interest of the people, an advantage which it took the reactionary majority two-thirds of the session to overcome.

The nine most important committees, Rules, General Legislation, Elections, Finance, Temperance, Taxes, Reapportionment, Railroads, and Public Health had 127 places and the ratio of progressives and reactionaries on these nine was 73 to 54. The best chairmanships went to progressives like Gunderson, Sundberg, Haycraft, V. L. Johnson, Bedford, Hackney, Boyle, Lende, and Dwinnell.

The appointment of Carl Wallace, supposedly progressive, as chairman of the committee on Taxes and Tax Laws was probably what defeated the income tax amendment to the federal constitution, as that bill was pigeon-holed in the committee until too late for it to be acted upon in the Senate.

But by far the worst committee of the Senate was the Judiciary. The Lieutenant-Governor had nothing to do with the personnel of this committee more than to name its chairman, F. E. Putnam, of Blue Earth. Senator Putnam appointed as his sub-committee on Constitutional Law, Messrs. Dunn, Wilson, Gunderson, Rockne and Duxbury. This body was headed by the attorney of the Hamm Brewing Company, who thus had an opportunity to block any and all reforms through constitutional amendments. The bills on the initiative and referendum were all referred to this sub-committee which contained only one real progressive, Senator Gunderson, and pigeon-holed until the very end of the session.

The Senate had no committee on Legislative Expenses, whereas it needed several.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIGHT FOR DIRECT LEGISLATION.

"Direct Legislation consists of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. It is in direct accord with our theory of government. It leads to efficient and just application of law, gives a businesslike administration of the affairs of state, city and town; increases economy, promptness and efficiency in doing the business of the people and for all alike with no favor or graft for anybody. It helps government for the people and not that condition where the people seem to be created for the government. It helps to cut out the boodlers and so assist the politicians to be good.

"The only opponents of Direct Legislation are those who seek to exploit the people, those seeking special favors through legislation.

"Direct Legislation requires a constitutional amendment providing that while the legislative power remains the same as it now is, the people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact and reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislature. This power reserved by the people is called the 'Initiative' and the 'Referendum' that is, the right of the people to initiate and to reject legislation. In states where the Initiative is in practice, it requires a certain per cent of the legal voters (usually eight per cent) to propose any measure by petition and every such petition must include the full text of the measure so proposed.

"The second power which Direct Legislation seeks to restore to the people is that of the "Referendum," the right of the people to pass upon, to ratify or reject any law that is passed by the legislature. The 'Referendum' is authorized after a certain per cent of the legal voters have petitioned (usually five per cent), and the people vote upon the law.

"Under the 'Recall' any public officer may be called upon to resign by the filing of a petition signed by a certain per cent of the legal voters who participated in the last preceding election in the official's election district. (The percentage is usually twenty-five per cent.) The petition must set forth the reasons for the recall and if the officer does not resign in five days after the petition is properly filed, a special election must be held within twenty days at which the voters of the district determine whether the official is to be 'Recalled.'

"The 'Initiative, Referendum and Recall' seek to maintain the rights and liberties of the people and the power and majesty of the government as against the enemies of both. These measures give the people direct veto power upon undesirable laws; permit them to propose legislation and to retire inefficient or corrupt officers."—Dr. W. T. Stone, Representative, Hubbard County.

* * *

THE BEST TEST ON THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Andrew Anderson, A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Crane, Davies, Davis, Farley, Ferguson, Frankson, Harding, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Kneeland, Knutson, I. J. Lee, J. F Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, H. Nelson, Nolan, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, E. Warner, Washburn, and Webb—51—voted, on February 21st, to make the progressive Initiative and Referendum bill a special order where it had some show of passage.

Aker, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Congdon, Converse, Denzer, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Hauge, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hoffman, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Knapp, Kunze, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, A. Nelson, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, Papke, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Robertson, Saggau, Schuler, Schwartz, Spooner, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Wescott, White, Wisniewski, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—65 voted against advancing an honest initiative and Referendum bill.

* * *

S. A. Stockwell, one of Minneapolis' most useful citizens, was formerly a State Senator. When in the Senate Chamber, early in January, he was greeted by Mr. Blank, of a well known printing firm, who inquired why he was there.

"I am interested in direct legislation," answered Stockwell.

"By that you mean the initiative and referendum?"

"Yes, and the recall," said Stockwell.

"They have the initiative and referendum in South Dakota, and the ballot is several feet long?" ventured Mr. Blank.

"Yes, but in Oregon the ballot is more like the page of a newspaper," said Stockwell.

"I know," returned Mr. Blank, "we are printing some samples of both of them."

"Who is having them printed?" asked Stockwell.

"Zollman," was the answer.

From which Mr. Stockwell rightly inferred that the brewers were busy. Mr. Zollman is attorney for the Minnesota Liquor Dealers Association. Obviously the brewery combine was at that early date arming its legislative agents with arguments with which to oppose the progressives in their battles for the initiative, referendum and recall. With those brewery printed documents as evidence, the professional politicians were to hold up to legislators "the spectre of expense and the plea of impracticability." Why were the brewers and associated special interests concerned above all else in the defeat of direct legislation?

In a national sense, the combined property power in politics is represented by three great groups: (1) the transportation trust; (2) the industrial corporations, like Standard Oil; and (3) the public utility companies. All of these were opposed to the enactment of a bona fide initiative and referendum law by the Minnesota Legislature, because this state is a part of the whole federal field in which they harvest a monthly crop of special privilege through their control of politics and politicians. Direct legislation would restore government to the people and serve to re-establish equality of industrial and political opportunities. In this state the "system" is composed of five elements: (1) the steel trust; (2) the railroad companies; (3) a number of "tramp" corporations, like the Twin City Rapid Transit Co.; (4) the liquor interests; and (5) scores of professional politicians. For reasons that are obvious this state machine influenced the situation sufficiently to make necessary this unpleasant recital of the story.

Eight direct legislation bills were introduced in the House—No. 13 by L. C. Spooner, No. 17 by W. A. Campbell, No. 24 by J. N. Johnson, No. 35 by F. L. Kelly, No. 47 by N. S. Hillman, No. 101 by Albert Pfaender, No. 191 by W. T. Stone and No. 285 by M. J. Sullivan. The number of bills presented was not so much an evidence of the popularity of the idea as it was of the system at work. With that condition it was easier for the reactionaries to bring about controversy and discord among the various authors of these bills. To dissipate the progressive strength is always the initial manoeuvre of the amalgamated special interests led by the brewers. Of these authors Messrs. Spooner, Pfaender, and Kelly voted against the initiative and referendum in the 1909 session. The Pfaender bill provided that 35 per cent should be required to initiate laws, which made the measure practically worthless and unusable. It was the opinion of leading progressives that the spurious Pfaender bill was presented for the main purpose of defeating an honest, effective initiative and referendum measure.

All of these initiative and referendum bills were referred to the Committee on Elections, excepting the Pfaender bill, which for some reason not known to me was first referred to the Committee on General Legislation, but later sent to the same committee as the others. If this all-important Committee on Elections had been picked by the brewers and acted under their direction it could not have been more accommodating to the arch enemies of direct legislation. This committee held all the initiative and referendum bills away from the House until February 21st, when the entire eight were dumped back into the House, without

recommendations of any kind, with the Pfaender "subterfuge" at the head of the list.

The progressives among the authors of these bills had agreed to unite upon H. F. No. 17, the Campbell measure, and to attempt to make it a "special order" where it could be acted upon speedily and out in the open. The program of the brewery members and their dissimulating assistants was to place the bills upon general orders where it would be possible to contrive delay after delay and prevent a final vote until too near the end of the session for any bill to become a law. Accordingly, when the reports of the elections committee came in on that memorable morning, with the Pfaender bill in the lead, Mr. Pfaender promptly had it placed upon general orders, whereas if he had been honestly and intelligently interested in having it become a law, it seems that he would at least have attempted to advance it to the special order stage. The progressives' measure, H. F. No. 17, came fifth in the list and when it was reached, Mr. Campbell moved that it be made a special order for the following week. The roll call on that motion separated the real friends and the real enemies of direct legislation better than any subsequent vote. That is the roll call given in the beginning of this chapter. Three days later, when Mr. Pfaender was absent, there was a second and successful attempt to advance the Campbell bill. On motion of Mr. Edwards, seconded by Mr. Converse, the previous vote was reconsidered and H. F. No. 17 made a special order for March 9th by the following vote:

To Advance H. F. No. 17.—A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Davis, Diessner, Edwards, Farley, Ferguson, Frankson, Harding, Hauge, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Keefe, Klemer, Kneeland, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, A. Nelson, Nolan, Nygren, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robinson, Rustad, Schwartz, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, E. Warner, Webb, Whiting, and Wisniewski—57.

Against the Special Order.—Aker, Andrew Anderson, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Denzer, R. C. Dunn, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hoffman, Just, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Nash, H. Nelson, Nye, O'Brien, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Robertson, Saggau, Schuler, Spooner, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Wescott, White, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—50.

Meanwhile, a new progressive bill had been prepared and substituted for H. F. No. 17. This was H. F. No. 681. And Mr. Pfaender had added his bill, H. F. No. 101, later replaced by his redrafted bill, H. F. No. 718, to the special order for March 9th. The Sullivan bill was left upon general orders; all the others were disposed of in some way, which left only the Campbell and Pfaender measures for the big battle, at the time of the special order.

The brewers fashioned the fight from inception to finish. Their lobbiests, in and out of the legislature, made and manipulated the combination that finally yielded the sixty-two votes against the people. A few were "fooled" into taking the position that they did. But the brewery machine was built, and I have never seen a more compact and perfectly operating organization. Not once during the two days' struggle did the politicians make a mistake or lose control of the combination.

When the battle began at eleven o'clock H. F. No. 681 was a good bill, one of the best that could be drawn on the subject. Through five hours of speeches and attempted amendments the measure remained practically the same. And in that connection occurred a legislative anomaly that I never expect to see equalled. The progressives tried to make the bill worse by amendments. The brewery leaders successfully opposed every important change for the worse. The progressives knew that the reactionaries would not support the measure without certain concessions and accordingly the friends of the bill tried to yield enough

to add a few votes. The brewery crowd knew that they had votes enough to kill the bill in the effective form in which it was introduced and they opposed every vital amendment to make it less effective through fear that it might become so bad that some of their men would vote for it. The people ought to know that a number of members who were a part of the combination which opposed the adoption of certain amendments urged the failure to incorporate these amendments in the bill as their excuse for voting against it on its final passage. Verily, "the voice was Jacob's voice, but the hands were the hands of Esau."

The enemies of the initiative and referendum, led by Charles R. Fowler, a brewery attorney, and Geo. W. Brown, attempted to amend the Campbell bill so as to render it inapplicable to measures except by a majority of all the votes cast at the election, instead of a majority of the votes cast for any measure itself—the point raised in the Sulerud bill discussed in another chapter. Thomas Kneeland also objected to the measure on the ground that it made it too easy for the people to change their own constitution and proposed an amendment eliminating constitutional changes from the initiative provisions of the bill. All of these and other amendments were voted down, and H. F. No. 681 was placed upon its final passage in a form which would have played havoc with the special interests and professional politicians of Minnesota, had it been passed and adopted into the constitution of the state. It was defeated by the following vote, Messrs. Kunze and Spooner voting for it under protest:

For the Progressive Initiative and Referendum Bill.—A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Davis, Farley, Ferguson, Frankson, Greene, Harding, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, A. Nelson, Nolan, Nygren, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Ribenack, Rines, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, E. Warner, Webb, Whiting—54.

Against an Effective Initiative and Referendum Bill.—Aker, Andrew Anderson, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Denzer, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Fowler, Fuchs, Hafften, Hauge, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Knapp, Kneeland, Knutson, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeill, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Nash, H. Nelson, Nye, O'Brien, Papke, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Reed, Rice, Saggau, Schuler, Schwartz, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Washburn, Wescott, White, Wisniewski, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—62.

The following morning the special order was continued and the Pfaender bill was considered. This bill was bad at the beginning. But it was not deemed sufficient that it provided for percentages which made it practically worthless. Its friends, the brewery element, made it even worse by amendments. They wanted to make it so bad that the progressives would join with those of their forces who were bold enough to oppose any bill on the subject, and vote against it.

First, Mr. Pfaender had adopted an amendment which made it impossible later to initiate legislation with less percentages than those named in his bill.

Then an amendment was adopted which made it impossible for the people to initiate constitutional amendments as they could other laws. This was aimed at such questions as woman suffrage.

Next Mr. Fowler championed an amendment which provided a further and almost insurmountable handicap for the people by requiring that each law initiated by them must receive a majority of all votes cast at the election, instead of a majority of those voting on that particular question.

As a final safeguard for the interests, two amendments aimed at organized labor were voted into the bill. The first, offered by Mr. Hopkins, provided that the people should not have the right to initiate a law unless it had been before the legislature and had received at least

20 per cent of the votes of either House or Senate; which would not enable labor to use the law on many of the reforms they are working for, because a large number of otheir measures are killed by committees and never get even one vote on their final passage. The other amendment against organized labor was offered by Mr. Pfaender, and provided that the signers of an initiative petition must be "So distributed as to include at least seven percentum of the legal voters in each of at least three-fifths of the counties of the state." This "wise" provision would have made it impossible for the labor element to initiate any law because their forces are conjested in a few centers.

With these many and ample "safeguards," the Pfaender bill was passed by the following vote of 63 to 50:

Those Voting in the Affirmative Were: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Burnquist, Campbell, Clarke, Davies, Davis, Ferguson, Fowler, Frankson, Herzberg, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, Hurley, C. E. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Klemer, Knapp, Kneeland, Knutson, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Lundeen, McNeill, Mattson, Mettling, Minette, Morton, Nash, H. Nelson, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, O'Neill, Palmer, Pfaender, Putnam, Ribenack, Rice, Rines, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schuler, Schwartz, Sulerud, Sullivan, Utecht, Voxland, Washburn, Webb, White, Whiting, and Wisniewski—63.

Those Voting in the Negative Were: Aker, Andrew Anderson, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Christie, Conley, Converse, Denzer, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Harding, Hauge, Healy, Henion, Jelinek, J. N. Johnson, Kunze, Libera, Lydiard, McDonald, McKenzie, McMartin, Moriarity, A. Nelson, Nolan, Orr, Papke, Perry, Peters, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, O. Peterson, Reed, Saggau, Skartum, C. E. Stone, W. T. Stone, Thielen, Untiedt, Virtue, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Wescott, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—50.

The fifty-four who supported the honest measure divided on the final passage of the Pfaender bill. But I think all the progressives were agreed that it was worthless. Because of that conviction a number voted against it. Other insurgents voted for it in the hope that the Senate would amend it into effective form. Figure it any way you will, the brewers won the House battle.

In the Senate progressive initiative and referendum bills were introduced by O. A. Lende and John Moonan. These measures were pigeon-holed in a subcommittee of the judiciary headed by W. W. Dunn, brewery attorney, throughout the session. The Pfaender bill, after its passage by the House, was also given into the custody of this same subcommittee where it remained until too late for any action by the Senate. And yet there are citizens of the state who will maintain that the brewery combine did not dominate the session and control its most vital actions.

* * *

THE RECALL.

S. F. No. 8, by John Moonan, providing for the recall of public officials, except judges, passed the Senate March 28th by the following vote:

For the Recall.—Ahmann, Bedford, Benson, Boyle, Carpenter, Cashman, Cheadle, Clague, C. F. Cook, Dale, Denegre, Donaldson, Duea, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Froshaug, Gunderson, Hackney, Hanson, Haycraft, C. D. Johnson, V. L. Johnson, Johnston, Klein, Lende, L'Herault, McGrath, Marden, Moonan, Murray, Nelson, Odell, Pauly, Peterson, Poehler, Rockne, Rustad, Sageng, Saugstad, Schaller, J. D. Sullivan, Sundberg, Thoe, Wallace, Weis, Wilson, Works—48.

Against the Recall.—Anderson, Coller, L. O. Cooke, Dunn, Duxbury, Gunn, Handlan, Pugh, G. H. Sullivan, Van Hoven—10.

This bill then passed into the House and was referred to the Committee on Elections. from which it was recalled April 10th and made a special order for April 13th. Here occurred some of the notorious "team work" between House and Senate. The reactionary House leaders knew that the Senate was seeking an excuse to defeat the recall bill and provided that excuse by amending S. F. No. 8 so that it applied to judges, which the upper body had excepted. Amended in that form the Moonan recall bill passed the House by the following vote:

For the Recall.—Aker, Andrew Anderson, A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Denzer, Diessner, Edwards, Farley, Ferguson, Fowler, Frankson, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Harding, Hauge, Herzberg, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, Jelinek, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Klemer, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lindberg, Lundeen, Lydiard, McDonald, McMartin, McNeil, Mattson, Mettling, Minette, Morton, Nash, A. Nelson, H. Nelson, Nolan, Nye, Nygren, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Perry, Peters, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Putnam, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Rines, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schuler, Schwartz, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Sullivan, Untiedt, Utecht, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Webb, Wescott, White, Whiting, Wisniewski, Speaker H. H. Dunn—104.

Against the Recall.—Clarke, Congdon, R. C. Dunn, Healy, Henion, Hurley, Knutson, MacKenzie, Moriarity, Papke, Saggau, C. E. Stone, Thielen, Virtue—14.

Of course the Senate refused to concur in the House amendments to S. F. No. 8. When Senator Moonan moved that the bill be placed on its repassage as amended, Senator Putnam made a substitute motion that a conference committee be appointed, which carried, thereby defeating the recall.

The conference committee consisted of Senators Putnam, Moonan and Coller, appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Gordon, and Representatives Kneeland, J. N. Johnson, and Congdon, appointed by Speaker Dunn. This committee reported late in the afternoon of the last day, recommending that the bill be passed with the judges eliminated, and the conference report was adopted by both branches, and the bill repassed the House by the following vote:

For the Recall.—Aker, Andrew Anderson, A. V. Anderson, Boothroyd, Bouck, G. W. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Davis, Farley, Ferguson, Fowler, Frankson, Greene, Hafften, Hauge, Healy, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Just, Kelly, Klemer, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lindberg, Lundeen, Lydiard, McDonald, McMartin, McNeil, Mattson, Minette, Morton, Nash, A. Nelson, Nolan, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Perry, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, O. Peterson, Putnam, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Rines, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schuler, Schwartz, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Utecht, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Webb, White, Whiting, Wisniewski, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—85.

Against the Recall.—Borgen, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Congdon, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Hoffman, Hurley, MacKenzie, Moriarity, H. Nelson, Peters, Saggau, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Virtue—18.

The best test in the House on the recall came on April 10th, when Thomas Kneeland moved that S. F. No. 8 be withdrawn from the Committee on Elections and made a special order. The following voted against that attempt to advance the bill and to make its passage possible:

And. Anderson, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Congdon, Denzer, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Farley, Hafften, Healy, Henion, Hurley, Knutson, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Lydiard, McDonald, McKenzie, Mettling, Nye, O'Brien, Perry, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Saggau, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Wescott, White and Speaker H. H. Dunn—37.

But final adjournment, through a mistake in announcing the vote, saved the politicians in the Senate. The recall bill had been reached and the report of the conference committee adopted. All that remained was for S. F. No. 8 to be put upon its final passage, and it would have become a law, with the Governor's signature. The reactionaries, led by George H. Sullivan, were fighting desperately. It was the last night, remember, and adjournment was their only hope. A motion to adjourn had already been voted down. Then there was a last attempt—and the mistake which cost the people both the recall and the primary extension. Senator Moonan had moved that the roll be called on the repassage of the recall bill, when Senator Dunn, brewery attorney, made a substitute motion that the Senate adjourn, sine die. What follows is an exact copy of the Senate record:

"Mr. Dunn moved that the Senate adjourn until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

"The question being taken on the adoption of the motion,

"And the roll being called, there were yeas 33 and nays 30, as follows:
"Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Froshaug	Pugh
Boyle	Glotzbach	Rockne
Carpenter	Gunn	Rustad
Clague	C. D. Johnson	Stebbins
Coller	Johnson	G. H. Sullivan
L. O. Cooke	Klein	J. D. Sullivan
Denegre	Marden	Swanson
Dunn	Murray	Van Hoven
Duxbury	Olson	Wallace
Fosseen	Poehler	Weis

Those who voted in the negative were:

Ahmann	Gunderson	Odell
Bedford	Hackney	Pauly
Benson	Handlan	Peterson
Cashman	Hanson	Putnam
Cheadle	Haycraft	Sageng
C. F. Cook	V. L. Johnson	Saugstad
Dale	Lende	Schaller
Donaldson	L'Herault	Sundberg
Duea	McGrath	Thoe
Dwinnell	Moonan	Wilson
Elwell	Nelson	Works

"So the Senate was declared adjourned."

The motion to adjourn was lost—33 to 30—but Assistant Secretary Simonton reversed the figures in handing the result to Lieutenant-Governor Gordon and that official announced that the Senate stood adjourned. Instantly almost there was such a scattering of members that it seemed impossible to reassemble the Senate when the mistake was discovered.

The thirty-three who voted against adjournment would undoubtedly have voted for both the recall and the primary. Mr. Simonton's mistake was an expensive blunder.

In both House and Senate the reactionaries depended upon the general policy of delay and subtly contrived, shrewdly masked discord between the two bodies. A simple, straightforward rule limiting the time standing committees could keep bills pigeon-holed would have prevented the pitiable congestion of business which existed at the close, and made possible the success of their scheme. The people should understand that there was nothing accidental in this condition, which enabled a majority in both branches to say, "we voted for all progressive measures"—only one of which was enacted into law. It is indeed difficult to procure reforms from legislators whose only interest in reform is to escape the wrath of the people in subsequent elections.

CHAPTER IX.

ELECTION MEASURES.

Telling the truth is unpleasant. It would be far more agreeable to pass over certain incidents in the fight for reform and progress in the election laws of the state. For example, I should very much prefer to give everyone connected with the passage of the Keefe bill full credit for honest intentions. That measure, which provides for the popular election of United States Senators, was voluntarily reported from the House Committee on Elections with the recommendation that it "do pass"—which made one wonder. Then, a few days later, it passed the House unanimously, which was more wondrous still.

Possibly one reason was unintentionally indicated by Mr. Fowler when in arguing against the initiative and referendum he suggested that direct legislation was wholly unnecessary. "The people can get anything they want from the legislature. See how easily the Keefe bill was passed." It certainly came in handy for such purposes at that critical time. But it is my belief that it journeyed through the House, practically unopposed, because the reactionaries thought it could ultimately be defeated in the same way that the recall, the primary and other vital measures were killed—through a lack of team work between the two bodies.

Precisely the same situation prevailed in reference to the income tax amendment to the federal constitution. The Clinton Robinson income tax bill passed the House unanimously, as did the Keefe bill. But some of the reactionaries had intended to fight the income tax and at least one speech was carefully prepared for delivery against it. Suddenly all signs of opposition subsided and when the measure was placed upon its final passage there was not a single negative vote. I believe this was because its enemies knew that the bill would be killed in the Senate, as it was. It is also my belief that the politicians permitted the Keefe bill to sail smoothly through the House because they had the same unfaltering faith in the ability of certain political pirates to wreck the measure in the Senate.

The Keefe bill was substantially the Oregon law which provides that party candidates for United States Senator shall be nominated by the people at the primary election, and then pledges legislators to vote for the one receiving the highest number of votes at the general election, regardless of which party he represents. After its passage by the House, Senators Lende and Works sidetracked their bills covering the same ground, giving precedence to the House measure.

It was on April 7th that the notorious "team work"—the House pulling in one direction, the Senate in another—began on the Keefe bill. It was necessary, of course, for the Senate to have a substitute with which to oppose the progressive measure. This was supplied in S. F. No. 14, introduced by Frank Murray, a partisan measure, eliminating all possibility of the election of a democratic United States Senator by a republican legislature, and vice versa. The Keefe bill was the Oregon idea; the Murray bill followed the less progressive plan adopted in North Dakota. It was expected, I believe, that the House would pass one, the Senate the other—and the people would get neither. But Senators Lende, Boyle,

Haycraft, Moonan, Works and others outgeneralled the reactionaries; and the Keefe bill became a law, the only vital reform accomplished at the last session.

The two "team work bills," H. F. No. 127 by Keefe, and S. F. 14 by Murray, were considered by the Senate as a special order April 7th. After an unsuccessful attempt to have the Keefe bill considered first, as it should have been, the Murray bill was passed by the following vote:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Anderson, Bedford, Benson, Boyle, Cashman, Clague, Coller, L. O. Cooke, Dale, Denegre, Duea, Dunn, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Froshaug, Gunderson, Gunn, Hackney, Hanson, Haycraft, V. L. Johnson, Johnston, Klein, Lende, Marden, Moonan, Murray, Nelson, Odell, Olson, Pauly, Peterson, Pugh, Putnam, Rockne, Saugstad, Stebbins, G. H. Sullivan, Sundberg, Swanson, Thoe, Wallace, Wilson.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: Ahmann, Cheadle, C. F. Cook, Donaldson, Duxbury, Glotzbach, Handlan, C. D. Johnson, L'Herault, Poehler, Sageng, Schaller, J. D. Sullivan, Van Hoven, Weis, Works.

But the progressives had outwitted the reactionaries in this; several voted for the Murray bill with the understanding that the Keefe bill would at once be placed at the head of the calendar and remain there, ready for final action, whenever the Senate should decide to consider it.

Then for a time the usual "team work" situation prevailed. The House had passed the Keefe bill and sent it into the Senate. The Senate had passed the Murray bill and sent it into the House. Both branches were in a position to say to their constituents: "We voted for a bill providing for the popular election of United States Senators," and yet such a law had not been enacted. But for once, and the only time during the session, on a vital issue, the House democrats exerted their balance of power in behalf of the people and refused to consider the Murray bill. Whereupon the Senate was forced to take up and pass the Keefe bill, which was done on the last day, April 18th, by the following vote:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Ahmann, Anderson, Bedford, Benson, Boyle, Cashman, Cheadle, Clague, Coller, C. F. Cook, L. O. Cooke, Denegre, Donaldson, Duxbury, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Froshaug, Glotzbach, Gunderson, Hackney, Handlan, Hanson, Haycraft, C. D. Johnson, V. L. Johnson, Johnston, Klein, Lende, L'Heranlt, McGrath, Marden, Moonan, Murray, Nelson, Odell, Olson, Pauly, Peterson, Poehler, Putnam, Rockne, Sageng, Saugstad, Schaller, Stebbins, J. D. Sullivan, Sundberg, Swanson, Thoe, Van Hoven, Wallace, Weis, Wilson, Works.—55.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: Carpenter, Dale, Dunn, Gunn, Pugh, G. H. Sullivan.—6.

But this was not accomplished until after the reactionaries, led by Geo. H. Sullivan, had made a desperate attempt to kill the bill by attaching at least one amendment. Even the changing of one word would have necessitated its repassage by the House, and it was the last day, remember. This roll call upon one of Mr. Sullivan's proposed amendments is significant as indicating many of the "team work" Senators:

For the Amendment: Anderson, Carpenter, L. O. Cooke, Dale, Denegre, Dunn, Duxbury, Dwinnell, Elwell, Gunn, Johnston, Klein, Marden, Murray, Nelson, Olson, Pugh, Putnam, Rockne, Rustad, Stebbins, G. H. Sullivan, Swanson, Thoe, Wallace, Wilson.—26.

Against the Amendment: Ahmann, Bedford, Benson, Boyle, Cashman, Cheadle, Clague, Coller, C. F. Cook, Donaldson, Duea, Fosseen, Froshaug, Glotzbach, Gunderson, Hackney, Handlan, Hanson, Haycraft, C. D. Johnson, V. L. Johnson, Lende, L'Heranlt, McGrath, Moonan, Odell, Pauly, Peterson, Poehler, Sageng, Saugstad, Schaller, J. D. Sullivan, Sundberg, Van Hoven, Weis, Works.—37.

* * *

CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT.

A complete revision and reform of the corrupt practices act was provided for in bills introduced in the House by W. A. Fisher and W. T. Stone. The latter followed the Oregon statute and included the "publicity pamphlet" which has accomplished so much for political education and purification, in that progressive state. Both were "indefinitely postponed" by the Committee on Elections, but Dr. Stone succeeded in hav-

ing the report of the committee overturned on March 7th, and his bill placed on general orders by the following vote:

To Advance the Stone Corrupt Practices Bill: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, G. W. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Diessner, Farley, Ferguson, Frankson, Green, Harding, Hauge, Henion, Hillman, Hoffman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Just, Klemer, Knapp, Kneeland, Knutson, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, McNeil, Mattson, Minette, Moriarity, A. Nelson, H. Nelson, Nolan, Nygren, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Peters, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Putnam, Rice, Rines, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schuler, Schwartz, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Untiedt, Utecht, Webb, Wisniewski—70.

To Kill the Bill in Committee: Aker, And. Anderson, Borgen, Bouck, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Congdon, Denzer, R. C. Dunn, Fowler, Fuchs, Hafften, Healy, Herzberg, Hurley, Kelly, Kunze, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, Mettling, Nye, O'Brien, Papke, Perry, Reed, Ribenack, Saggau, C. E. Stone, Thielen, Virtue, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Wescott, White, Speaker H. H. Dunn.—39.

The Stone bill never progressed beyond general orders. It fell a victim to the general congestion of business and was not considered on its final passage.

* * *

PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATES.

Earnest Lundeen introduced a bill providing for a primary election to choose delegates to national conventions. This was a copy of the excellent Wisconsin law, which would have interfered with the operation of the federal machine; accordingly it was held in the Committee on Elections until April 12th—too late for it to survive the general congestion.

* * *

THE STATE-WIDE PRIMARY.

S. F. No. 603, extending the primary election law to state officers, passed the Senate, March 24th, by the following vote:

For State-wide Primary: Ahmann, Anderson, Bedford, Benson, Boyle, Carpenter, Cashman, Cheadle, Clague, Dale, Denegre, Donaldson, Duxbury, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Froshaug, Gunderson, Hackney, Hanson, Haycraft, V. L. Johnson, Johnston, Klein, Lende, L'Herault, McGrath, Marden, Moonan, Murray, Nelson, Odell, Olson, Peterson, Pugh, Putnam, Rockne, Rustad, Sageng, Saugstad, Schaller, Stebbins, J. D. Sullivan, Sundberg, Swanson, Thoe, Wallace, Weis, Wilson.—49.

Against S. F. No. 603: Coller, C. F. Cook, L. O. Cooke, Dunn, Gunn, C. D. Johnson, G. H. Sullivan, Van Hoven.—8.

Then the "team work" began. This bill went to the House Committee on Elections, from which it was recalled April 5th and made a special order. The story of that incident has already been told in the chapter on the speakership. Following that unexpected advantage for the progressives, there were hurried gatherings of "alumni coaches" and representatives of the state and federal machines. Finally, after several adjournments of the special order to give the reactionaries more time, S. F. No. 603 passed the House on April 15th, three days before final adjournment, by the following vote:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Aker, And. Anderson, A. V. Anderson, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Davis, Denzer, Fowler, Frankson, Fuchs, Hafften, Harding, Hauge, Henion, Herzberg, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Klemer, Knapp, Kneeland, Knutson, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lindberg, Lundeen, Lydiard, McMartin, McNeil, Mattson, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Morton, Nash, Nolan, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Perry, A. J. Peterson, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Putnam, Ribenack, Rice, Rines, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schuler, Schwartz, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Webb, Wescott, Whiting, Wisniewski, Speaker H. H. Dunn.—92.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: Borgen, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Healy, Hoffman, MacKenzie, A. Nelson, H. Nelson, Papke, Peters, Reed, Saggau, C. E. Stone, Virtue, White.—16.

Of course the bill had been amended by Pfaender and others and had to be repassed by the Senate. On April 17th Senator Haycraft moved

that the Senate concur in the House amendments. Senator Rockne moved a substitute motion that the Senate do not concur, but appoint a conference committee, which carried by a vote of 32 to 30, thereby defeating the state-wide primary. The vote was as follows:

To Delay the Passage of S. F. 603: Bedford, Carpenter, Clague, Coller, Denegre, Duea, Dunn, Duxbury, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Froshaug, Gunn, Hackney, C. D. Johnson, Johnston, Klein, L'Herault, Marden, Murray, Nelson, Olson, Pugh, Putnam, Rockne, Rustad, Schaller, Stebbins, G. H. Sullivan, Swanson, Wallace, Wilson—32.

To Repass the Primary Bill: Ahmann, Anderson, Benson, Boyle, Cashman, Cheadle, C. F. Cook, Dale, Donaldson, Glotzbach, Gunderson, Handlan, Hanson, Haycraft, V. L. Johnson, Lende, McGrath, Moonan, Odell, Pauly, Peterson, Poehler, Sageng, Saugstad, J. D. Sullivan Sundberg, Thoe, Van Hoven, Weis, Works.—30.

The Conference Committee consisted of Senators Rockne, Haycraft and Putnam, appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Gordon, and Representatives Holmburg, R. C. Dunn and MacKenzie, by Speaker Dunn. Their report was never considered by either body. In both branches the politicians and special interests were saved by final adjournment.

CHAPTER X.

LIQUOR LEGISLATION.

The brewery combine is corrupt. This element probably spends more money to elect "controllable" members than all the other special interests placed together. I shall not attempt to suggest the number of legislative candidates who received a "small contribution from friends" in liquor circles to help out with campaign expenses. A check for $500.00 was "small."

The brewers exert an immeasurably evil influence in Minnesota politics. Their profligacy and unscrupulous practices in campaigns make the better class of citizens hesitate to become candidates for the legislature, and results directly in the election of law makers lacking both in a patriotic conception of their duties and in the character which should accompany such responsibility. The liquor interests do not require a high order of intelligence in the ordinary legislator elected through their aid, and only sufficient integrity to insure that he will stay bought after being paid for in campaign expenses. The logical and inevitable sequel is what is known legislatively as the "brewery bunch," whose chief requisite for statesmanship, from the saloon point of view, is a faithful following of a few shrewd bell wethers, of which the special interests are never in need.

It has already been indicated why the brewery combine wanted to elect members and dominate the session, as they undoubtedly did. A number of measures of the deepest fundamental importance,—the initiative and referendum, the recall, the bill making it possible for the people to change their own constitution, extension of the primary, etc.,—menaced their political supremacy and had to be killed. Then there were many attempted reforms relating directly to their own field of business. This chapter deals with them.

The Temperance Committee appointed by Speaker Dunn consisted of F. L. Palmer, chairman, and four other progressives, Henry P. Webb, J. E. Peterson, E. F. Whiting and Ralph E. Crane, the last three of whom, like the chairman, were new members and inexperienced in committee room controversy; Alex. Nelson, a rather unprogressive county optionist; and Harrison White, Albert Pfaender, Leonard Virtue, Geo. A. MacKenzie, L. D. Brown, W. H. Wescott, W. A. Just, E. J. Fuchs, and Henry A. Hoffman, reactionaries, the first six being experienced, especially shrewd, and loyal to the liquor interests. In the Senate Lieutenant-Governor Gordon appointed a Temperance Committee composed of V. L. Johnson, chairman, Julius E. Haycraft, C. J. Gunderson, T. E. Cashman, Geo. H. Elwell, C. W. Odell and A. L. Hanson, progressives; and Julius Coller and T. M. Pugh, anti-county optionists. These committees are given here because they had vital connection with the measures to be considered.

* * *

COUNTY OPTION.

Speaker Dunn promised the appointment of a Temperance Committee which would report out a county option bill. That was done, and much more. Henry Rines introduced H. F. No. 201, the county option bill of the Anti-Saloon League, on January 25th. Within less than a

week the Temperance Committee acted upon it at a meeting attended by Speaker Dunn. At his request the bill was sent to the House with the recommendation that it be made a special order for February 3rd, two days later. Mr. Rines protested, but in vain. The administration was determined not only to redeem its promise to act promptly, but to push the bill so fast that its advocates would not have time to prepare adequately for the debate. Two years before the politicians had shut off discussion by moving "the previous question;" this was an attempt to diminish the dreaded debate by precipitating final action before the friends of the bill were ready.

The action of the Temperance Committee was so obviously unfair that their recommendation was repudiated by a vote of 65 to 48, one of the most crushing rebukes of the entire session. When Mr. Palmer moved that the committee report, fixing the time for the special order on February 3rd, be adopted, Mr. Rines moved that the bill be made a special order for February 7th. The substitute motion prevailed by the following vote:

To Overturn the Temperance Committee Report: Aker, And. Anderson, A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Congdon, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Davis, Denzer, Edwards, Farley, Ferguson, Fowler, Frankson, Greene, Harding, Hauge, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Knapp, Knutson, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, Nash, A. Nelson, H. Nelson, Nolan, Nye, Nygren, Orr, Perry, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Webb—65.

To Sustain the Committee: Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Fuchs, Hafften, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hillman, Hoffman, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Kneeland, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, O'Brien, Palmer, Papke, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Saggau, Schuler, Schwartz, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Wescott, Wisniewski, Speaker H. H. Dunn—48.

Then came February 7th, the day of the special order, and the county option bill was placed on its final passage, where a direct vote could be taken, for the first time in years. H. F. No. 201 was defeated by the following vote:

For County Option: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Burnquist, Campbell, Conley, Crane, Davies, Davis, R. C. Dunn, Ferguson, Frankson, Harding, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Kneeland, Knutson, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, A. Nelson, Nolan, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robertson, Rustad, Sampson, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Webb, Whiting—50.

Against County Option: Aker, And. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Christie, Clarke, Congdon, Converse, Denzer, Diessner, Edwards, Farley, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Hauge, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hoffman, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Knapp, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lundeen, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Nash, H. Nelson, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, Papke, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Robinson, Saggau, Schuler, Schwartz, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Wescott, White, Wisniewski, Speaker H. H. Dunn—69.

In the Senate the same county option bill was introduced by V. L. Johnson. It was reported for passage by the Temperance Committee and made a special order for February 20th, when it was defeated by the following vote:

For County Option: Bedford Cashman, Dale, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Froshaug, Gunderson, Hackney, Hanson, Haycraft, V. L. Johnson, Lende, Nelson, Odell, Peterson, Putnam, Rustad, Sageng, Saugstad, Sundberg, Thoe, Wallace, Wilson—24.

Against County Option: Ahmann, Andersen, Benson, Boyle, Carpenter, Cheadle, Clague, Coller, C. F. Cook, L. O. Cooke, Denegre, Duea, Dunn, Duxbury, Glotzbach, Gunn, Handlan, C. D. Johnson, Johnston, Klein, L'Herault, McGrath, Marden, Murray, Olson, Pauly, Poehler, Pugh, Rockne, Schaller, Stebbins, G. H. Sullivan, J. D. Sullivan, Swanson, VanHoven, Weis, Works—37.

* * *

STATE-WIDE PROHIBITION.

A. V. Anderson introduced H. F. 389, providing for state-wide prohibition, on February 8th. The Temperance Committee reported it for

"indefinite postponement" March 3rd. The report of the Committee was overturned and the bill placed upon general orders by the following vote:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Aker, A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Burnquist, Christie, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Davis, Edwards, Farley, Frankson, Hauge, Hillman, Hoffman, Holmberg, Holton, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Knapp, Knutson, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, H. Nelson, Nolan, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, O. Peterson, Putnam, Rice, Rines, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schwartz, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, Washburn, Webb, Whiting, Wisniewski—60.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: And. Anderson, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Campbell, Clarke, Denzer, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Kneeland, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Nash, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, Papke, Perry, Peters, Pfaender, Reed, Ribenack, Saggau, Schuler, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Wescott, White, Speaker H. H. Dunn—53.

The session adjourned with this measure still on general orders.

* * *

A "daylight lid law" was introduced in the House by J. N. Johnson and in the Senate by O. A. Lende. This measure provided that saloons should close at eight o'clock. Bills prohibiting lunches in saloons and forbidding screens, chairs or tables in saloons were also presented by these members, but never reached a final vote. All three were "indefinitely postponed" by the House Temperance Committee.

S. F. No. 287, by Senator Lende, making saloon keepers liable for damages in cases of injury resulting from the sale of liquor, became a law, after first being amended by Senator Dunn, brewery attorney, to make it apply only to the "unlawful" sale of intoxicants.

S. F. No. 423, by Senator Hanson, prohibiting the sale of malt except in licensed saloons, also passed both branches.

* * *

H. F. No. 296, by Palmer and Hopkins, prohibiting treating in saloons was defeated in the House, April 4th, by the following vote, 61 affirmative votes being necessary for the passage of a bill:

Against Public Treating: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Burnquist, Campbell, Conley, Converse, Davies, Davis, R. C. Dunn, Ferguson, Frankson, Harding, Hauge, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Kelly, Klemer, Kneeland, Knutson, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, Lydiard, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, H. Nelson, Nolan, O'Neill, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, O. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Rustad, Sampson, Schuler, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Webb, Whiting—54.

For Public Treating: Aker, And. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouch, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Christie, Clarke, Denzer, Diessner, Edwards, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hoffman, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Libera, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, Perry, Peters, Pfaender, Reed, Ribenack, Robinson, Sagau, Schwartz, C. E. Stone, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Washburn, Wescott, White, Wisniewski—50.

* * *

THE DUNN ROAD HOUSE BILL.

H. F. No. 637 was introduced by R. C. Dunn, February 28th. It was reported from the Temperance Committee without recommendation and made a special order for April 11th. The purpose of the bill was to prevent the licensing of saloons by county commissioners in little country places which were unincorporated and without local police regulations. It was aimed principally at "road house" resorts. This measure passed the House, but not until it had been hopelessly emasculated by an amendment.

This amendment was offered by L. H. Rice. It may have been prepared by some legislative agent of the brewers and given to Mr. Rice to present in the hope that it would attract less opposition than if intro-

duced by some more prominent reactionary, Mr. Rice being only a private in the ranks. It provided that the law should not apply to any "railroad town having a postoffice and one or more general stores and grain elevators, and where passenger and freight trains make regular stops," which, of course, included scores of just such little hamlets as the bill was intended to protect. This "safety" clause was voted into the measure without a roll call, but later Mr. Klemer moved to reconsider the vote, whereby the Rice amendment was adopted. The Klemer motion was defeated 51 to 61, but it serves to show who wanted an effective "road house" law. The vote was as follows:

Against the Rice Amendment: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Burnquist, Campbell, Conley, Crane, Davies, Davis, R. C. Dunn, Farley, Frankson, Harding, Hauge, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Kneeland, Kunze, Knutson, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, A. Nelson, Nolan, O'Neill, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robertson, Rustad, Sampson, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Webb, Whiting—51.

For the Rice Amendment: Aker, And. Anderson, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Congdon, Denzer, Diessner, Edwards, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hoffman, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Knapp, S. N. Lee, Lennon, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling. Minette, Moriarity, Nash, H. Nelson, Nye, Nygren O'Brien, Papke, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Robinson, Saggau, Schuler, Schwartz, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Washburn, Wescott, White, Wisniewski—61.

After an attempt to further amend the bill by Mr. Kelly had failed, H. F. No. 637 passed the House by the following vote:

Ayes: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Burnquist, Campbell, Congdon, Conley, Crane, Davies, Davis, R. C. Dunn, Farley, Ferguson, Fowler, Frankson, Harding, Hauge, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, Jelinek, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Just, Keefe, Klemer, Knapp, Kneeland, Knutson, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lennon, Lindberg, Lundeen, Lydiard, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, Nash, A. Nelson, Nolan, O'Neill, Palmer, A. J. Peterson J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rice, Rines, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schwartz, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Webb, White, Whiting, Speaker H. H. Dunn.—67.

Noes: Aker, And. Anderson, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Denzer, Diessner, Edwards, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hoffman, Hurley, Kelly, S. N. Lee, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, H. Nelson, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, Papke, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Reed, Ribenack, Saggau, Schuler, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Wescott, Wisniewski—47.

* * *

Senator Olson slipped a saloon measure through the Senate. It was S. F. No. 131 to repeal a special law enacted to prevent a certain town in Jackson County from issuing licenses. The bill was not unmasked until after it had passed the upper branch and only the heroic work of J. N. Johnson defeated it in the House. It failed to pass on April 13th by the following vote:

Ayes: Aker, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Crane, Denzer, Farley, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Henion, Hoffman, Hopkins, Hurley, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Kunze, S. N. Lee, Libera, MacKenzie, McDonald, McMartin, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Nash, H. Nelson, Nye, O'Brien, O'Neil, Papke, Perry, J. E. Peterson, Reed, Ribenack, Rines, Saggau, Schuler, Schwartz, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Webb, Wescott, White, Wisniewski, Speaker H. H. Dunn—50.

Noes: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Burnquist, Campbell, Conley, Converse, Davies, Ferguson, Frankson, Harding, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lundeen, Lydiard, Mattson, Morton, Nolan, Palmer, Pfaender, Putnam, Robinson, Sampson, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, E. Warner—35.

Then Albert Pfaender came to the rescue of the measure, had the vote whereby it was defeated reconsidered, and the bill placed upon general orders. It was not reached again.

* * *

THE ROBINSON "BREWERY BILL."

H. F. 745, by Clinton Robinson, was in a class with county option as a real bona fide menace to the breweries. It provided that all brewery

wagons should be licensed and specified as to how they should be regulated. The bill was aimed chiefly at houses of prostitution and blind pigs, and would have resulted in a greatly decreased illegal sale of liquor. It was of such importance that one of the fiercest fights of the session was waged about it.

The Temperance Committee voted to "indefinitely postpone" this bill, but never made that recommendation to the House. After learning of this action Mr. Robinson quietly intimated to members of that committee that he would make a speech the next morning on the specific question of brewery influence in the legislature. The Klemer incident was still fresh in the minds of these law givers and, following a hasty consultation, the Temperance Committee was called together in extraordinary session, the previous killing of the Robinson brewery bill reconsidered, and the measure sent to the House with the unanimous recommendation that it be placed on general orders.

Subsequently H. F. 745 was made a special order and put upon its final passage April 11th. It was defeated by the following vote:

Ayes: A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Crane, Davies, Davis, R. C. Dunn, Farley, Ferguson, Frankson, Harding, Hillman, Hoffman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Knutson, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lennon, Lindberg, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, A. Nelson, Nolan, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schwartz, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Webb, Whiting—57.

Noes: Aker, And. Anderson, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Congdon, Diessner, Edwards, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Hauge, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Knapp, Kneeland, S. N. Lee, Libera, Lundeen, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Nash, H. Nelson, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, Papke, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Saggan, Schuler, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Wescott, White, Wisniewski, Speaker H. H. Dunn—59.

* * *

LOCAL OPTION FOR CITIES OF THE FOURTH CLASS.

The opponents of county option justify their position by espousing the other theory—local option. Therefore the story of what an anti-county option legislature did to the bills to extend local option to cities of the fourth class will be both interesting and instructive.

On February 3rd, J. N. Johnson introduced H. F. No. 329, extending the right to vote on the license question to cities of the fourth class. The bill did not disturb the present law in so far as it relates to villages, where the question of license or no license can be submitted to the voters if a petition is signed by ten citizens. The House Temperance Committee considered this measure February 16th and it was "indefinitely postponed." The next morning Mr. Johnson made one of the sensational speeches of the session in support of this measure and the majority of the Temperance Committee who reported killing the bill were overwhelmingly repudiated by the following vote:

To Place H. F. No. 329 on General Orders: Aker, A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, G. W. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Crane, Davies, Davis, Denzer, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Farley, Ferguson, Frankson, Greene, Hafften, Harding, Hauge, Hillman, Hoffman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, Jelinek, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Knapp, Kneeland, Knutson, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Lindberg, Lundeen, Lydiard, McMartin, McNeil, Minette, Morton, Nash, A. Nelson, H. Nelson, Nolan, Nye, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Perry, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, O. Peterson, Putnam, Reed, Rice, Rines, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schwartz, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Webb, Whiting, Wisniewski—84.

To Permit the Committee to Kill the Bill: Andrew Anderson, Bouck, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Converse, Diessner, Fuchs, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hurley, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Libera, McDonald, MacKenzie, Mettling, Moriarity, Nygren, Papke, Peters, Pfaender, Ribenack, Saggau, Schuler, C. E. Stone, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Wescott, White, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—34.

This vote was so large that it became apparent that such a bill would pass. Then it was that Speaker Dunn is said to have gone to his Tem-

perance Committee and insisted on their introducing a committee bill on the same subject. H. F. No. 892 was the result. The substitute, known among legislators as Speaker Dunn's bill, was probably presented for two reasons: (1) to take away from Mr. Johnson the credit of passing such a measure through the House and give that needed glory to the reactionary element; and (2) to replace his bill, which was a good one, with a substitute full of features more favorable to the breweries. H. F. No. 892 contained three bad provisions not in the Johnson bill over which it was given precedence. First, it changed the number of signers required to submit the license question by petition in villages and towns from ten voters to twenty-five per cent of the voters. Second, it provided that a majority of those voting on the license question could carry for license, whereas the old law required a majority of all voting at the election. Third, it exempted cities with home rule charters.

H. F. No. 892, containing all these safeguards for the liquor interests, although introduced after the Johnson bill was on general orders, was given the right of way. The day of its introduction L. C. Spooner moved that it be made a special order for March 15th. It passed the House on that date by a vote of 84 to 27, several of the progressives and temperance members voting against it.

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Aker, Andrew Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Clarke, Congdon, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davis, Denzer, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Farley, Fowler, Greene, Hafften, Haugo, Henion, Hillman, Hoffman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Kneeland, Kunze, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lundeen, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Moriarity, Morton, Nash, H. Nelson, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, O'Neill, Palmer, Papke, Perry, Peters, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, O. Peterson, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Robinson, Saggau, Sampson, Schuler, Schwartz, Spooner, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Washburn, Wescott, White, Whiting, Wisniewski, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—84.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: A. V. Anderson, Davies, Ferguson, Harding, C. E. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, McMartin, Mattson, Minette, A. Nelson, Nolan, Pfaender, Putnam, Rines, Robertson, Rustad, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulernd, Utecht, Voxland, E. Warner, Webb—27.

It then passed into the Senate. There it was amended by Senator Haycraft and others, restoring the old status of villages and towns, and extending its application to cities with home rule charters. When the bill was reached on general orders, April 10th, Senator Dunn, brewery attorney, had it amended, striking out the reference to home rule cities, and in that form it passed the Senate unanimously April 17th.

Its next journey was back to the House for concurrence in the Senate amendments. Mr. MacKenzie moved that the House do not concur and asked for a conference committee. Mr. Davies made a substitute motion that the House do concur and repass the bill. This substitute motion was lost, 52 to 56, thereby defeating the attempt to extend local option to cities of the fourth class. This vote, which was the real test on the question of extending local option to cities of the fourth class, was as follows, those voting "aye" being in favor of the bill:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: A. V. Anderson, Boothroyd, Burnquist, Campbell, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Davis, Farley, Ferguson, Frankson, Harding, Haugo, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, McMartin, Mattson, Morton, A. Nelson, Nolan, O'Neill, Palmer, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schwartz, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulernd, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Washburn, Whiting, Wisniewski—52.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: Aker, Andrew Anderson, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Christie, Clarke, Congdon, Denzer, Diessner, Edwards, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hoffman, Hurley, Just, Keefe, Kelly S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mettling, Moriarity, Nash, H. Nelson, Nye, O'Brien, Papke, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Saggau, Schuler, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Wescott, White, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—56.

The conference committee on this bill consisted of Senators Haycraft, Sageng and Lende, and Representatives MacKenzie, Wescott and

Palmer. Their report was never acted upon in the House, and was one of the things responsible for the disgraceful disorder which marked the final adjournment.

It has always been the custom in Minnesota on the last night of the session to set the clock back and thus work after midnight. On this occasion, with action upon H. F. No. 892, and a number of the most vital measures pending, a crowd of saloon sympathizers from among the members gathered about the clock and refused to permit officers of the House to touch it. This "brewery bunch," as they have become known, were reinforced by a gang of rowdies, some third house members, in the south gallery, who prevented the insurgents from reaching the clock from that direction. There is a suspicion that the whole affair was engineered by brewery lobbyists.

Thus surrounded and possessed, the clock looked down upon a scene of disorder almost without precedent, even in the annals of tenderloin saloon brawls, and ticked away the fateful minutes until midnight arrived. Then ignoring all that an hour more might have meant to the state, T. J. Greene moved that the House do adjourn. That motion was defeated by a vote of 37 to 70. But the reactionaries were not to be denied. They had protected the clock; now the clock must protect them. Its hands pointed to twelve. This "protest" was sent to the Speaker, read and made a part of the record:

"We, the undersigned, members of the House of Representatives of the Minnesota Legislature, do, pursuant to section sixteen, of article four, of the State Constitution, protest against and dissent from the consideration and passage by this House of any bill or resolution, upon the ground that it is now after twelve o'clock midnight of Tuesday, April 18th, A. D. 1911, and therefore this session has now exceeded the term of ninety legislative days and this House has no power to consider any such bill or resolution, and the reasons for this dissent we wish entered upon the Journal.

(Signed) "T. M. Ferguson, Geo. A. MacKenzie, W. H. Wescott, Harrison White, Chester A. Congdon, C. E. Stone, L. Virtue, P. J. Mettling, M. J. Sullivan, Geo. M. Nye."

The Speaker ruled that the hour of twelve had arrived and that the legislative session under the Constitution was over. A. J. Peterson appealed from the decision of the chair, but the Speaker was sustained by a vote of 65 to 48. It was a fitting finish to a session dominated throughout by the liquor element. That adjournment should be taken with final action pending on so many important measures was an appropriate climax to the session-long policy of delay pursued by the special interest members.

The following day Speaker Dunn is quoted as saying that he "ought to have smashed the clock." The better, saner, safer course would have been to have smashed the reactionary House machine months before.

CHAPTER XI.

DEFEATING THE DISTANCE TARIFF.

There are only two elements in politics—property and patriotism. The conflict between special privilege on one hand and equality of opportunity on the other is as eternal as the ages. In past political epochs this property power in politics manifested itself and maintained its advantage over the people through such crude means as the colonization of voters, the bribery of election officials, the purchasing of law makers and executives. In later years sentiment has become aroused and uncompromising in its condemnation of such practices. Accordingly the corporations have been compelled to modernize their methods. The predatory interests no longer depend solely upon boss and boodleism for the continuance of their commercial supremacy. Instead they go directly to the people and through the subtle, insidious misdirection of public opinion shape legislation as they desire. It would be impossible to find a better illustration of this than in the fight over the Cashman distance tariff bill. A decade ago the railroads might have accomplished its defeat directly by bribery or blackmail, or both. But at this session the transportation trust attacked the measure indirectly, through the agencies of publicity which were controlled by selfish interests and obviously used by them to misdirect the public mind and dull the public conscience.

First, a word about the bill. Every informed person knows that the railroads have corrupted politics; that through their control of conventions and commissions and legislatures and executives they have compelled the public to pay dividends on stock that is at least half water. But exorbitant rates are not so evil in their influence upon individuals and industrialism as are discriminative rates. Because they have been permitted to fix rates almost at will, discriminating as they chose, the railroads have been able to coldly decree which communities should flourish and which decay and die. The map of America has been made by the transportation trust. The ebb and flow of population has been determined not by the character and industry of people, or by the natural advantages of one section over another, but by the desire of "empire builders" to so manipulate the relative growth of communities as to make the maximum of business for the railroads.

There are two transportation theories, which great railroad minds understand to be fundamentally different. One deals with the smallest possible number of large centers. This, in a word, means that both the producer and the consumer have to pay the maximum of transportation taxes. The other theory deals with the greatest number of small manufacturing and distributing centers, each serving its surrounding territory. This would mean the minimum of both freight and passenger business for the railroads, and a corresponding saving for the people.

Through discriminative rates the railroads have contributed largely to the building of one great center—St. Paul and Minneapolis,—at the expense of every other section of the state. They could not keep Duluth from growth because of its lake port advantages, so that enterprising city was given the same rates as the Twin Cities. But hundreds of country towns in the state have not been permitted to grow beyond the importance of little retailing villages. As a direct result it can safely

be said that Minnesota has a transportation tribute not only exorbitantly high, but for an aggregate distance at least twice as great, consequently twice as burdensome, as it would have been had not the railroads arrogantly directed the population and industries of the state into great centers.

The Cashman distance tariff bill was aimed at discriminative rates. Under its provisions a manufacturer or wholesaler in the smallest town would have had to pay the same freight charges as his competitor in the largest city. It would have operated to distribute population more evenly throughout the state. It would have ended discrimination by making rates equal for the same distance all over the state.

Senator Thomas E. Cashman first introduced his distance tariff bill in 1907. Then it was defeated, largely through the influence of a hostile Senate Committee on Railroads appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Eberhart. Senator Cashman again introduced the same measure in 1909, and again it could not survive an unfriendly, unfair organization of the Senate. But in the 1911 session conditions seemed more propitious. Lieutenant-Governor Gordon named a Committee on Railroads which was headed by Senator Sundberg and contained a majority of progressives. More than that, Senator Cashman had led in a movement, extending over the entire state and continued for four years, to educate the rural communities as to the evil effect of railroad rate discriminations. The result of this was the injection of the distance tariff idea into many districts as a campaign issue and the election of numerous members in both branches interested in its enactment which was in itself a notable achivement for the determined author of the bill.

The distance tariff bill—S. F. No. 5—placing freight rates upon a mileage basis, was introduced by Senator Cashman on January 5th. All indications pointed to its passage, and there at once began one of the most modern, spectacular legislative battles ever waged anywhere in America. The phase of this contest which every citizen of the state should understand is that the railroad ring pressed the button that set in motion the whole special interest system of improvising public opinion against the measure. Simultaneously the large city jobbers and the large city dailies chorused their objections to the bill. Then subservient interests here, there and everywhere chimed in with a resounding note of protest. The result was a state of sentiment, almost wholly mechanical, which befogged the issue and made it appear that the very communities to be most benefited by the bill were up in arms against it. Senator Cashman had this subtle, insidious influence to fight.

The Railroad and Warehouse Commission opposed the measure, perhaps honestly and without bias.

But mightier than all the combined forces of the Transportation Trust, Big Business, the Twin Cities and the Metropolitan Press, was the verdict of the Attorney-General and the lawyers who had been and for some time will be representing the state in litigation with the railroads. These attorneys held and I have no doubt it was their honest opinion, that the enactment of the distance tariff law would throw out of court the commodity rate cases then pending a decision. Senator Cashman insisted that his bill could not have that effect since it did not fix rates, but only provided that rates should be equal; and he predicted that it would not matter anyway, because the state would lose the decision, which was borne out when Judge Sanborn handed down his pro-railroad opinion shortly before adjournment. The contention of Messrs. Simpson and Young influenced enough Senators like Bedford, V. L. Johnson, Sundberg and Thoe to decide the issue and on February 24th the Cashman distance tariff bill was defeated for the third time in as many consecutive sessions, by the following vote:

For the Distance Tariff: Anderson, Benson, Cashman, Coller, C. F. Cook, L. O. Cooke, Dale, Donaldson, Froshaug, Glotzbach, Gunderson, Hanson, Haycraft, C. D. Johnson, Johnston, Lende, Meenan, Murray, Olson, Peterson, Poehler, Putnam, Rockne, Rustad, Sageng, Saugstad, Schaller, Weis, and Works—29.

Against the Distance Tariff: Ahmann, Bedford, Boyle, Carpenter, Cheadle, Clague, Denegre, Duea, Dunn, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Gunn, Hackney, Handlan, V. L. Johnson, Klein, L'Herault, McGrath, Marden, Odell, Pauly, Pugh, Stebbins, G. H. Sullivan, J. D. Sullivan, Sundberg, Swanson, Thoe, Van Hoven, Wallace and Wilson—32.

No friend of the people ever battled against bigger obstacles or with greater credit to himself than did Senator Cashman in his advocacy of the distance tariff idea. He fought practically alone; on the railroad side were a full score of traffic experts, railroad attorneys and representatives of Twin City wholesale interests. Yet two votes changed would have passed the bill in the Senate, and it is generally conceded that five times that number were saved to the railroads because Judge Sanborn's decision had not been rendered.

In the House the same bill was introduced by Ralph E. Crane. The Committee on Railroads had the measure pigeon-holed from January 18th to April 10th, a condition made possible by the joker in the reactionary rules. Then on motion of Mr. Crane, H. F. No. 106 was recalled from the committee and made a special order for April 12th, when it passed by the following vote:

For the Distance Tariff: Aker, Andrew Anderson, A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Christie, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Denzer, Diessner, Farley, Frankson, Hafften, Harding, Hauge, Henion, Hoffman, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Kelly, Klemer, Knutson, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Lindberg, MacKenzie, McMartin, Minette, Moriarity, A. Nelson, Nygren, Papke, Peters, A. J. Peterson, O. Peterson, Putnam, Reed, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Saggau, Sampson, Schwartz, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Utecht, Virtue, Voxland, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Wescott, White, Whiting, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—62.

Against the Distance Tariff: Boothroyd, Borgen, Burnquist, Campbell, Clarke, Congdon, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Healy, Herzberg, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, Lennon, Libera, Lundeen, Lydiard, McDonald, McNeil, Mattson, Mettling, Morton, Nash, H. Nelson, Nolan, Nye, O'Brien, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Perry, J. E. Peterson, Pfaender, Ribenack, Rice, Rines, Schuler, Spooner, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Washburn, Webb and Wisniewski—56.

This eleventh hour action of the House, although accompanied by much trumpetry, counted for nothing. It came too late in the session. If the friends of the bill had made an earlier interference with its hibernation in the Railroad Committee and sent it into the Senate it would undoubtedly have passed that body after the Sanborn decision became public. At it was, there were only four more Senate days after the distance tariff measure passed the House, which made it impossible for it to survive the congestion of business at the close.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONGDON SCHEME OF REAPPORTIONMENT.

Before me as I write is a great stack of newspaper clippings. They consist both of editorials and excerpts from news columns. All relate to the Congdon reapportionment measure. Before me also is a copy of the bill itself. The papers and the bill do not tell the same story.

Almost every citizen who will read this analysis of the reapportionment situation will already have had the newspaper view, which was not an honest or just interpretation. With the exception of the Minneapolis Daily News, nearly every large paper in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth deliberately, and designedly, I believe, misrepresented the scope and scheme of the Congdon bill. The modern manipulation of public opinion for corporation purposes probably never had a better illustration than in this attempt on the part of the press to force through the legislature a reapportionment bill favoring the special interests of Minnesota.

The press asserted that the brewery influence was against the Congdon bill; the bill itself shows that the brewery combine would have been benefited by its enactment. The press paraded the measure before the people as one in harmony with the spirit and letter of the constitution, which provides that reapportionment shall be upon a basis of population, while the provisions of the bill proves that it was full of inequalities as unfair as those it was intended to correct. The press maligned and impugned such members as Senators Lende and Haycraft, who bore the brunt of the battle against it, whereas they should have been credited with the most patriotic intentions. In brief, the almost omnipotent power of the press was employed to deceive the people and misdirect public opinion in behalf of a reapportionment scheme which would have operated primarily to perpetuate the influence of the steel trust in state politics.

The bill seemingly was drawn: (1) to safeguard the interest of the steel trust; (2) to benefit the brewers; and (3) to get votes enough to pass the measure. These considerations obviously overshadowed any desire to reapportion in the interest of the people or on a basis of population. Let us study the measure from these view points.

1. **The Steel Trust.**—Under the Congdon scheme of reapportionment the iron ore interests would have been practically certain of an anti-tonnage tax legislature for years to come. To accomplish this, control of only one branch was necessary and the Senate was the one selected for this purpose. The Congdon bill eliminated eight Senators from the First, Second and Third congressional districts—tonnage tax territory. Two of these were provided for by cutting down the total number of Senators from 63 to 61; five of them were given to Minneapolis, St. Paul, and St. Louis county—anti-tonnage tax territory; and districts were so manipulated that only the remaining one went into the over-populated Eighth and Ninth districts, and in such a way that only half of that one Senator would be in tonnage tax territory.

No one could find any fault with the decreased Senatorial representation in southern Minnesota if a fair share of it had gone to the agricultural sections of the north. This is what actually happened:

St. Louis county with a population of 163,270 was given an increase of two Senators, making a total of five. The five big districts in northwestern Minnesota represented by Senators Sageng, Marden, Saugstad, Hanson, and Sundberg, with a population of 215,757, were given an increase of only half of one Senator by the removal of Beltrami county with a population of 19,337 from the empire comprising Senator Hanson's district. This left Senators Sundberg, Hanson, Saugstad, Sageng, and Marden, in tonnage tax territory, to represent 196,420, while the same number of Senators in St. Louis county would represent 163,270 people.

But that does not begin to express the difference. The population of St. Louis county is swelled many thousands by the unnaturalized foreigners from southern Europe employed on the Range. Expressed in citizenship the inequality is much more than doubled. The total number of votes cast for all candidates for State Senator in St. Louis county at the last election, according to the Blue Book, was 14,026. The total number of votes cast for the five Senators from northwestern Minnesota in the districts given to them in the Congdon bill was 30,884.

Another vicious feature of the Congdon bill was the gerrymandering of the districts in St. Louis county. The five districts were manipulated into "shoe string" shape, in order to apportion the city of Duluth among them. This was to safeguard the steel trust in its own dooryard. Duluth is beginning to manifest signs of insurgency and it was feared that progressives might be elected regularly from that city, so "the Zenith City" was parcelled out, with enough of the Range in each district to make them all "safe."

2. **The Brewery Combine.**—The newspaper claim that the brewery influence was against reapportionment is ridiculous. The press reasoned and asked the people to believe that because the brewery combine already had an anti-county option Senate, they would not care to face a reversal of that situation through an election, the result of reapportionment, in two years. On the contrary, the brewers consider decades, and not bienniums. They saw an opportunity to so redistrict the state as to lessen the chances of county option for years to come. But the brewery combine so subtly masked its moves in this connection, and was given such skillful and persistent aid by the large newspapers, that the county option element, both in and out of the legislature, was deceived into the belief that the Congdon scheme of reapportionment was in the interest of the anti-saloon element.

Like the steel trust, the brewery combine would be satisfied with the control of one branch of the legislature. They, too, evidently considered the Senate sufficient. Let us see how the Congdon bill would have affected the Senate, from a county option point of view.

The First, Second, and Third Congressional districts lost eight Senators. These three districts had twenty-five Senators before. On the question of county option they stood seven for to eighteen against. Was it accidental that under the Congdon bill districts were so manipulated that in all probability five of the seven county option Senators would be eliminated? And does that bear out the oft repeated, over emphasized, consolidated newspaper claim that the brewers were opposed to reapportionment?

Elimination No. 1.—Julius E. Haycraft, county optionist, representing the Twelfth district, comprising the counties of Watonwan and Jackson, would have been succeeded by an anti-county optionist. The story of that bit of gerrymandering is doubly and deeply significant. It also involved one other adjoining district.

As it was drawn and presented to the House, the Congdon bill left the Watonwan-Martin district as it was with one Senator for the district

and a House member for each of the two counties, only its number was changed to Nine. The counties of Jackson, Cottonwood, and Murray were placed in another district, No. 10, with one Senator and two Representatives elected at large. The sentiment of one of these five counties, Watonwan, was strongly for county option; the other four were anti-county option territory. As the Congdon bill was first presented the Watonwan-Martin district would with almost absolute certainty have elected a county option Senator and one county option Representative. Now note what was done at the eleventh hour.

On February 21st, when the Congdon bill was made a special order in the House, the administration had an iron-clad organization back of it. A big majority of the whole House membership had agreed to vote down every attempt to change the measure by amendment. Congdon was in command. But obviously, at the last minute, it was discovered that they were overlooking an opportunity to eliminate a couple of county optionists, so he himself proposed an amendment changing districts Nos. 9 and 10. What follows is an exact copy from the House Journal, pages 5 and 6 of the 33d day:

"Mr. Congdon moved to amend H. F. No. 477 by striking out lines ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen and seventeen of page three of the original bill, being lines forty-four to forty-nine inclusive, of page three of the printed bill, and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"The Ninth district shall be composed of the Counties of Martin and Jackson and shall be entitled to elect one Senator and two Representatives.

"The representative districts shall be divided as follows:

"The County of Martin shall constitute one district and shall be entitled to elect one Representative.

"The County of Jackson shall constitute one district and shall be entitled to elect one Representative.

"And also by striking out lines nineteen, twenty and twenty-one of the original bill, being lines fifty-one and fifty-two of the printed bill and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"The Tenth district shall be composed of the Counties of Watonwan, Cottonwood and Murray and shall be entitled to elect one Senator and two Representatives.

"The question being taken on the adoption of the amendment.

"And the roll being called there were yeas 73 and nays 38, as follows:

"Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Aker	Herzberg	Mattson	Sampson
Anderson, And.	Hillman	Minette	Schwartz
Anderson, J. J.	Hurley	Moriarity	Spooner
Borgen	Jelinek	Nelson, A.	Stone, C. E.
Bouck	Johnson, J. T.	Nolan	Stone, W. T.
Brown, G. W.	Just	Nye	Sulernd
Brown, L. D.	Keefe	O'Brien	Sullivan
Campbell	Kelly	O'Neill	Thielen
Clarke	Knapp	Orr	Untiedt
Congdon	Kneeland	Palmer	Utecht
Dunn, R. C.	Knutson	Perry	Virtue
Edwards	Kunze	Peterson, O.	Warner, C. H.
Ferguson	Lennon	Pfaender	Washburn
Fowler	Lindberg	Putnam	Webb
Fuchs	Lundeen	Ribenack	Wescott
Greene	Lydiard	Rice	White
Hange	McDonald	Rines	Wisniewski
Healy	McKenzie	Robertson	Speaker H. H. Dunn
Henion	McNeil	Saggau	

"Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson, A. V.	Frankson	Lee, J. F.	Peterson, A. J.
Boothroyd	Hafften	Lee, S. N.	Peterson, J. E.
Burnquist	Harding	Libera	Reed
Christie	Holmberg	McMartin	Robinson
Conley	Holten	Mettling	Rustad
Crane	Hopkins	Morton	Skartum
Davies	Johnson, C. E.	Nelson, H.	Voxland
Davis	Johnson, J. N.	Nygren	Warner, E.
Denzer	Klemer	Papke	
Farley	Lee, I. J.	Peters	

"So the amendment was adopted."

Joseph Davies vigorously opposed this amendment. In advocating the change, Mr. Congdon said on the floor of the House, that it was made because a majority of the members in the districts affected desired it; that otherwise the amendment would not have been offered. The five members from the counties involved were: Joseph Davies, Watonwan; H. Nelson, Murray; E. Warner, Cottonwood; Henry Untiedt, Jackson, and H. A. Saggau, Martin. A moment later, as will be seen by the roll call on the amendment, the first three of these, or a majority, voted against the change. Even after this fact was pointed out to Mr. Congdon, which by the way was absolute proof of his insincerity in the matter, he refused to surrender the advantage for the special interests and a motion to reconsider the vote whereby his amendment was adopted was voted down.

What was accomplished by this eleventh hour amendment, "proposed in compliance with the wishes of a majority"—who voted against it? By placing Jackson and Martin counties together it united two anti-county option counties and insured the election of one Senator and two Representatives favoring the antis. By placing Watonwan, county option, with two counties, Murray and Cottonwood, anti-county option, it practically insured the election of a Senator in favor with the liquor element; and by taking Watonwan out of a Representative district by itself and compelling House candidates to run at large in the three counties, the Congdon amendment undoubtedly eliminated a county option House member. Since county option members are usually progressive on all other issues, and the anti-county option members are inclined to work with the special interest combination on other issues, it will be seen that the steel trust was also concerned in the change.

Elimination No. 2.—The Congdon bill placed Steele and Waseca counties together in a district. These counties were each in a district and were represented respectively by Senators Cashman and Moonan, both of whom voted for county option and made much trouble for the special interests on all other questions. The Congdon scheme would have eliminated one, and possibly both, of these progressives.

Elimination No. 3.—Nobles county was represented by S. B. Bedford, a sturdy insurgent and county optionist. The Congdon bill joined his county with Pipestone and Rock counties, anti-county option territory.

Elimination No. 4.—Dodge county, represented by Peter J. Thoe, county optionist, was placed in a district with Mower, more populous and with an anti-county option Senator.

Elimination No. 5.—Fillmore county, with a county option Senator, but so evenly divided that it elected a House member on each side of the question, was joined with Houston county, represented by an anti-county option Senator.

All of the foregoing relates to the changes in the First, Second, and Third congressional districts. In that territory the Congdon bill eliminated eight Senators and in all probability five of them would have been

for county option and progressive principles generally. That such a marked advantage should have been given to the special interests does not seem accidental when one considers those three congressional districts had only seven county option Senators out of a total of twenty-five.

The comparison might be continued. For example, Kandiyohi and Meeker counties, each with a county option Senator, were placed in a district together. And the failure to give the over-populated districts in northwestern Minnesota the representation to which they were entitled operated in favor of the brewery combine, as it did the steel trust and other special interests.

3. To Get Votes.—After these principal special interest considerations, which have been suggested, instead of observing the population basis about which the opinion moulding agencies shouted so loudly and so long, the Congdon bill was so drafted as to minimize the opposition and secure enough votes for its passage. On this point, Senator Haycraft said:

"I doubt not, with my own county, with a trifle less than twelve thousand people, that if I would vote for this bill I could have a Senatorial district in that county alone. This district was rearranged a little different than it was first put in here. That was to suit the members in the House. The night before the special order in the House a change was made and that change was made upon the floor of the House. Five House members in this state were the only ones affected by that change in the House, and when the roll was called three of the five, a majority, voted against the change, there were only two in favor of it, and the will of the majority was disregarded and my district was outraged. Two reasons existed for that change. One man in the House claimed control of a bunch of votes, six in number, and he agreed to and did deliver those votes for that bill. The other reason was to put myself in the position of going before this Committee and asking to have the bill changed back to where it was before my district was outraged, in order that it might be granted me. Arguing, then I could not in all fairness oppose the bill. Let me say to you that that scheme so far as I am concerned did not work."

W. A. Harding, in a scathing attack upon the iniquities of the Congdon bill, told of how his own district, Faribault county, had first been placed with Martin county, but later left by itself, evidently with the expectation that he would be placated and not fight the measure. Continuing he said:

"I do not know that Faribault county with less than 20,000 population was made a district by itself as a sop for me to keep quiet, but I do know that the realignment was made to placate some others and secure another vote or two for the bill. This bill was framed on the plan of taking district by district and pleasing as many as possible in each district without any particular disposition to elaborate on what are the changes elsewhere or general effects throughout the whole state. The developments here on the floor of the House an hour ago when that amendment forcing a change in the Second congressional district was adopted proves this assertion absolutely true. The amendment to the bill carried with it the assurance of six democratic votes instead of two or possibly three as the former change had done, so it went through rough shod over the protest of those directly affected."

Note these inequalities in the Congdon bill:

District and Counties.	Population	No. of Senators
49, Ottertail	46,036	1
7, Faribault	19,949	1

59, Pennington, Red Lake, Clearwater, Mahnomen and Norman—an empire	39,501	1
45, Grant, Stevens and Traverse.....	27,456	1
61, Kittson, Marshall and Roseau.....	37,345	1
5, Freeborn	22,282	1
43, Stearns	47,733	1
17, Dakota	25,171	1

These few comparisons are sufficient to prove that the over-advertised basis of population was not observed when it served the special interests or brought votes for the bill to ignore it. Judging the Congdon scheme by the voting strength of the different districts shows even greater inequities. I quote from Senator Lende's argument:

"There is one peculiar thing that has come to my notice during the progress of this debate. Usually when a bill comes before the Senate the men who oppose the measure must stand upon this floor and defend their position, but in this instance the case is reversed. Those in favor of this bill are defending it to the best of their ability against the indictment brought against it, while those opposed to the bill are simply presenting to this Senate the case in behalf of the people of the State of Minnesota.

"Let us analyze this Congdon bill. We proceed now, not upon a basis of population, but upon the next best basis, the number of votes cast in each district. By the provisions of this bill the Senate is decreased in number from sixty-three to sixty-one. Representation is taken from Southern Minnesota supposedly to be given to the Northern part of the State which has been clamoring for more representation, but in reality the Northern part of the State outside of what may be called the iron belt, under this Congdon outrage, is given the magnanimous increase of one-half of one Senator. By examining the returns of the last election you will find that the districts of Southern Minnesota have more votes than most of the districts in Hennepin, Ramsey, and St. Louis counties. Yet, representation must be taken from the Southern part of the State and given to these three counties. The same is true of the districts in northwestern Minnesota. Still only two districts get increased representation while the others remain unchanged.

"Let us now compare the different districts. The Senator from the Thirty-eighth District (Senator L'Herault) comes into the Senate with a vote of 1,616. The combined vote in his district at the last election was 2,742. I ran without opposition in my district and I received 2,120 votes more than all three of those candidates put together, or to put it in another way, those three men together got only 348 votes more than the registered number of votes in Dodge county, the smallest county in the State. The following Senators have received in their districts more votes than the Senator from the Thirty-eighth (Senator L'Herault), namely: Senators Duxbury, McGrath, L. O. Cooke, C. F. Cook, Nelson, Stebbins, Cashman, Anderson, Works, Putnam, Haycraft, Olson, Bedford, Dale, Clague, Murray, Peterson, Donaldson, Klein, Coller, Weis, Glotzbach, Rockne, Poehler, Odell and myself."

Senator Lende next compared all the other districts in Hennepin and Ramsey counties, and proceeded:

"Next we come to St. Louis county. I well remember the statements of the Senator from St. Louis county, who preceded me (Senator Boyle). On the 2nd day of February he made the statement that he represented upon the floor of this Senate something like 87,000 people; the people of his district having only one-fifth the representation in this Senate that the people of Dodge county had, represented by Senator Thoe. Let us consider his district. Senator Boyle comes here with

5,144 votes. The combined votes of the two men running against each other were 7,223 votes, or 582 votes less than the registered number of votes in my district, and 2,312 votes less than the combined votes in Senator Hanson's district.

"From the Fiftieth District Senator Pugh comes here with 1,649 votes, elected from St. Louis county upon the issue of reapportionment. Think of it! On that important issue of reapportionment and just representation upon this floor, he is elected by 1,649 votes! Isn't it an outrage not to be granted more representation?

"Senator Pugh ran with opposition and the two together got 2,639 votes, 913 votes less than Senator Cashman. The two together got 1,667 votes less than Senator Gunderson. The two of them together got 638 votes less than the Senator from Kandiyohi (Senator Odell), or 794 votes less than the Senator from Meeker (Senator Peterson). Kandiyohi and Meeker must be reduced, but the Fiftieth district must be increased. Is this fair? I must not forget my little friend, the Senator from Dodge (Senator Thoe). The combined votes in Senator Pugh's district were only 245 more than the registered number of votes of Dodge county, the smallest county in the state.

"Now we come to Senator Hanson's district. Senator Hanson's combined vote is 9,545 votes. The combined vote of Senator Gunn and his opponent is 7,925. Senator Hanson today represents 9,550 combined votes and he is given the magnificent concession of one-half of one Senator. Senator Gunn with 7,900 votes representing today the counties of Carlton, Aitkin, Cass, Itasca and Koochiching, with some 1,500 less than Hanson's district, is given a senator and a half. Is there any justice in that? I can conceive of only one reason why the Senator from Itasca (Senator Gunn) is given a senator and a half, and that is because it is pretty close to the west line of St. Louis county and near the operations of the United States Steel Corporation.

"Senators Boyle, Pugh, and Cheadle come upon the floor of this Senate with a combined vote of 14,027, and they are given two more Senators. Under the new bill five senators would represent 14,027 votes which means that each senator would have the honor of representing on this floor the enormous number of 2,805 votes. The districts represented by Senators Hanson and Gunn get one senator together, three senators to represent 17,470 votes, or each senator representing 5,823 votes. In St. Louis county each senator representing 2,805 votes and in these other counties each senator representing 5,823 votes.

"I am firm in the conviction that this bill is one of the most vicious and outrageous bills which was ever presented to any legislature. Talk about this cry for reapportionment! I am in favor of reapportionment and I sincerely hope that a bill can be drafted which will do justice to the people up north. This Congdon bill has given to our friends in the north, in order to get their votes for this bill, only the crumbs which fell from the overloaded table. When I listen to the clarion call for reapportionment coming from the people of the north, when I read the Republican and Democratic platforms upon the question of reapportionment, and when I analyze the vicious and outrageous provisions of this Congdon bill, I am forced to exclaim that 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau.'

"Under the present law, and at this time the counties of Hennepin, Ramsey, and St. Louis are represented upon this floor by fifteen senators, less than one-fourth of the number of members of this Senate. Under the new bill, if this bill should become a law, they would be represented upon the floor of this Senate by twenty men, or one-third of the Senate. Think of it,—one-third of the members of this body would mean practi-

cally to surrender entirely the agricultural part of the state, the greatest and best part of the state, to the three counties.

"The men up north have not been treated right in this bill. It is not a just reapportionment. The bill has concentrated all of its efforts to centralizing the power in these three counties (Hennepin, Ramsey, and St. Louis). Is there any wonder that we are opposed to surrendering the birth-rights of the people of this state to this Congdon bill and to put it in plain English, to the United States Steel Corporation."

On this point I want to quote from Julius E. Haycraft, a county optionist and one of the most consistent insurgents in the Senate. He began his speech against the Congdon bill by saying:

"There has grown up in this state quite a cry for reapportionment. An organization was perfected in the north known as the Northern Minnesota Development Association, with a Secretary and a President, who devote their entire time to this matter. By whom these officers are employed and by whom they are paid I do not know, hence I make no comments, but the systematic reapportionment scheme which they have carried out has not been a fair one.

"I doubt if one thousand people in the State of Minnesota out of the two million and over realize the real intent and purport of the present bill. Perhaps a majority of the members of this body thought that reapportionment meant to render due justice to the great agricultural section of the north. It was carefully guarded that the great counties of Hennepin, Ramsey, and St. Louis should be the chief beneficiaries of this bill, yet that is exactly what occurred when the bill was drawn. Not only has that agitation for reapportionment been spread over this state through a systematic campaign, but every method of maligning the members of this Senate in advance, has been resorted to. We have come down here and upon no cause at all have been maligned and libeled for what we might or might not do. That thing has gone on here from day to day with the idea of drawing any kind of a bill and pushing it through the House and the Senate irrespective of what it did in the way of reapportionment."

The following comparisons, from a speech in the House by W. A. Harding, indicate some of the changes attempted in the Congdon bill:

The First District Had.....	10	Senators and	16	Representatives
Congdon Bill Gave First Dist.....	6	Senators and	13	Representatives
A Loss of	4	Senators and	3	Representatives
Second District Had	6	Senators and	11	Representatives
Congdon Bill Gave Second Dist....	5	Senators and	10	Representatives
A Loss of	1	Senator and	1	Representative
Third District Had	9	Senators and	14	Representatives
Congdon Bill Gave Third Dist.....	6	Senators and	10	Representatives
A loss of	3	Senators and	4	Representatives

Under the Congdon bill the First, Second, and Third Congressional Districts lost eight Senators and eight Representatives. What was done with them?

The Sixth, Seventh, Ninth and Eighth, outside of St. Louis county, comprising about two-thirds of the area of the state, and the section which stood most in need of reapportionment, gained in the Congdon bill only one Senator and six Representatives, the latter being the number of House members added under the new plan. Even that does not

express the unfairness of the Congdon scheme, for in reality only a half a Senator went to the Ninth district in anti-steel trust territory, the other one-half being given to Senator Gunn's district which adjoined St. Louis county and could be counted as "safe" for the iron ore interests.

The eight Senators and eight Representatives lost to the First, Second, and Third districts were disposed of as follows: One Senator went to the northern county outside of St. Louis county, and the districts were so manipulated that the steel trust was not likely to suffer more than half a member; two were disposed of by cutting down the number of Senators; and the other five went to St. Louis, Ramsey and Hennepin counties.

The Congdon bill passed the House February 21st by the following vote:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Aker, Andrew Anderson, A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, L. D. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Congdon, Converse, Davis, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Hange, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hillman, Holmberg, Holten, Jelinek, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Knapp, Kneeland, Knutson, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Lindberg, Lundeen, Lydiard, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mattson, Mettling, Minette, Morton, Nash, A. Nelson, Nolan, Nye, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Perry, A. J. Peterson, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Putnam, Ribenack, Rice, Rines, Robertson, Saggau, Sampson, Skartum, Spooner, C. E. Stone, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Sullivan, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Voxland, C. H. Warner, Washburn, Webb, White, Wisniewski, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—85.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: G. W. Brown, Christie, Clarke, Conley, Crane, Davies, Denzer, Farley, Frankson, Harding, Hoffman, Hopkins, Hurley, Klemer, Libera, McDonald, McMartin, Moriarity, H. Nelson, Nygren, Papke, Peters, J. E. Peterson, Reed, Robinson, Rustad, Schuler, Schwartz, Thielen, E. Warner, Wescott—31.

It was defeated in the Senate March 16th by the following vote:

For the Congdon Bill: Ahmann, Boyle, Cheadle, Denegre, Dunn, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Froshaug, Gunderson, Gunn, Hackney, Hanson, C. D. Johnson, V. L. Johnson, Johnston, L'Herault, Pauly, Pugh, Rustad, Sageng, Saugstad, G. H. Sullivan, J. D. Sullivan, Sundberg, Wallace, Wilson—27.

Against the Congdon Bill: Anderson, Bedford, Benson, Carpenter, Cashman, Clague, Coller, C. F. Cook, L. O. Cooke, Dale, Donaldson, Duea, Duxbury, Glotzbach, Handlan, Haycraft, Klein, Lende, McGrath, Marden, Moonan, Murray, Nelson, Odell, Olson, Peterson, Poehler, Putnam, Rockne, Schaller, Stebbins, Swanson, Thoe, Van Hoven, Weis, Works—36.

* * *

S. F. No. 360, by Senators Duxbury, Moonan, Haycraft, and Weis, was introduced February 14th. It met the country vs. the city issue squarely by providing for a constitutional amendment limiting the number of Senators any county could have. As amended in the House, it would have made it impossible for any subsequent reapportionment to give to either Ramsey, Hennepin, or St. Louis counties more than seven Senators, regardless of their population. The bill passed the House April 17th by the following vote:

For the Seven-Senator Bill: Andrew Anderson, A. V. Anderson, Boothroyd, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Christie, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Denzer, Diessner, Edwards, Farley, Frankson, Hafften, Harding, Hauge, Henion, Herzberg, Hoffman, Holten, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Klemer, Knutson, I. J. Lee, S. N. Lee, Libera, Lindberg, McMartin, Minette, Moriarity, Morton, A. Nelson, Nygren, Papke, Peters, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Putnam, Reed, Robinson, Rustad, Saggau, Sampson, Schuler, Schwartz, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Untiedt, Utecht, Voxland, E. Warner, Wescott, Whiting, Wisniewski, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—65.

Against S. F. No. 360: Aker, Borgen, Bouck, Burnquist, Campbell, Clarke, Congdon, Davis, R. C. Dunn, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Healy, Hillman, Holmberg, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, J. F. Lee, Lennon, Lundeen, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mattson, Nash, H. Nelson, Nolan, Nye, O'Brien, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Perry, Ribenack, Rice, Rines, Robertson, Spooner, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Washburn, Webb, White—52.

Then the bill went back to the Senate for concurrence and was finally repassed on the last day, after hours of spectacular controversy, as follows:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Ahmann, Anderson, Bedford, Benson, Carpenter, Cashman, Coller, C. F. Cook, L. O. Cooke, Dale, Donaldson, Duea, Duxbury, Fros-

hang, Glotzbach, Haycraft, Johnston, Klein, Lende, McGrath, Marden, Moonan, Murray, Nelson, Olson, Peterson, Poehler, Putnam, Rustad, Schaller, Stebbins, J. D. Sullivan, Thoe, Weis, Works—35.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: Boyle, Cheadle, Clague, Denegre, Dunn, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Gunderson, Gunn, Hackney, Handlan, Hanson, C. D. Johnson, V. L. Johnson, L'Herault, Odell, Pauly, Pugh, Rockne, Sageng, Saugstad, G. H. Sullivan, Sundberg, Swanson, Van Hoven, Wallace, Wilson—28.

* * *

The Congdon scheme of reapportionment failed, but it served one useful purpose for the special interests. The fight, long drawn out, bitter and often spectacular, took up days of time in both branches, and fitted nicely into the general policy of delay. Two years before much of the session was given to anticipating mythical smells from "an Armour packing plant," which never materialized. But in this case, real odors might have developed.

CHAPTER XIII.

DULUTH AND THE TONNAGE TAX.

H. F. No. 404 was the sequel of H. F. No. 477. As soon as the nature of the Congdon scheme of reapportionment was revealed, even before the bill was introduced, certain insurgents began to "back fire" with a bill imposing a tonnage tax on iron ore.

It is safe to assert that this measure would not have been presented, had it not been for Mr. Congdon's attempt to ride, rough shod, over the progressives and railroad through the reapportionment bill described in the preceding chapter. By that I do not infer that those pushing the tonnage tax idea were insincere; but I think they realized that it was a hopeless fight and a waste of effort. It was the opinion of many that even though such a measure could be passed in both branches, it would be vetoed by the Governor. And later the impression that a Big Politician might attempt to use this veto for personal purposes, helped to defeat the bill in the House.

H. F. No. 404, by Frankson, J. N. Johnson and Moriarity, was introduced February 9th and referred to the Committee on Taxes and Tax Laws. That committee, packed especially for that purpose, reported the bill for "indefinite postponement" on March 8th by a vote of sixteen to one, Henry A. Hoffman being the only member out of seventeen to sign the minority report. The real meaning of this action can best be understood when one considers that it was an attempt to "kill in committee" a measure involving millions of dollars and of state-wide interest. To sustain the report of the sixteen meant that there would be no opportunity to change the bill by amendment or to get a direct vote upon it. I have no criticism of anyone who finally opposed the tonnage tax, many of its enemies being honestly against that method and principle of taxation, but there does not seem to be any justification for those who supported the Tax Committee in its Cannonistic treatment of the measure. An overwhelming majority of the House evidently took this same view, for they repudiated the sixteen and adopted the minority recommendation of Mr. Hoffman making H. F. No. 404 a special order for March 16th.

When R. C. Dunn, Chairman of the Committee on Taxes, moved that the majority report killing the tonnage tax bill in committee, be adopted, Thomas Frankson made a substitute motion that Mr. Hoffman's minority report be adopted, which carried by the following significant vote:

To Sustain the One: Andrew Anderson, A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, G. W. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Denzer, Diessner, Edwards, Frankson, Greene, Hafften, Harding, Hauge, Herzberg, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Just, Kelly, Klemer, Knutson, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Libera, Lindberg, Lundeen, McDonald, McMartin, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Morton, A. Nelson, H. Nelson, Nolan, Nygren, O'Brien, O'Neill, Palmer, Papke, Peters, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Pfaender, Putnam, Reed, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schuler, Schwartz, Skartum, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Untiedt, Utecht, E. Warner, Whiting, Wisniewski—70.

To Sustain the Sixteen: Aker, Borgen, Bouck, L. D. Brown, Clarke, Congdon, Davis, R. C. Dunn, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Healy, Hillman, Hurley, Jelinek, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, Lennon, Lydiard, MacKenzie, Mattson, Moriarity, Nash, Nye, Orr, Perry, O. Peterson, Ribenack, Rice, Rives, Saggau, Spooner, C. E. Stone, Thielen, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Washburn, Webb, White and Speaker H. H. Dunn—41.

It will be noted that J. J. Moriarity, one of the authors of the bill, voted with the organization. Mr. Moriarity had previously changed front on this bill, and had his name removed from the list of its authors.

After a bitter fight on the day of the special order, March 16th, H. F. No. 404 was defeated decisively. The vote was as follows:

For the Tonnage Tax: Andrew Anderson, A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Campbell, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Diessner, Farley, Frankson, Haffter, Harding, Hauge, Henion, Hoffman, Holmberg, Holton, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Knutson, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Lindberg, McMartin, Minette, A. Nelson, Papke, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Reed, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Sampson, Schuler, Schwartz, Skartum, Sulerud, Voxland, E. Warner, Wescott, Whiting—48.

Against the Tonnage Tax: Aker, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Burnquist, Christie, Clarke, Congdon, Davis, Denzer, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Healy, Hillman, Hopkins, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelly, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, Lennon, Libera, Lundeen, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McNeil, Mattson, Mettling, Moriarity, Morton, Nash, H. Nelson, Nolan, Nye, Nygren, O'Brien, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Ribenack, Rice, Rines, Saggau, Spooner, C. E. Stone, W. T. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, C. H. Warner, Washburn, Webb, White, Wisniewski, Speaker H. H. Dunn—70.

Nine of the old members who voted against the Frankson-Johnson tonnage tax measure voted for the Bjorge bill on the same subject in the 1909 session. They were L. C. Spooner, Albert Pfaender, Geo. H. Mattson, Alex McNeil, F. L. Kelly, H. Nelson, G. H. Denzer, Jos. Peters and O. Peterson.

Several unusual influences entered into that roll call. In previous sessions most of the supporters of the tonnage tax bill were progressives, and most of its enemies reactionaries. In this case "the lion and the lamb" were often found together against the measure. A few insurgents, like J. A. A. Burnquist, opposed the principle of taxation involved. Other progressives, like Andrew Davis, obeyed the sentiment of their districts in voting negatively. But the bulk of the progressive opposition came from two exceptional causes:

First, the Veto Possibility.—It has already been hinted that some of the progressives were fearful that Governor Eberhart would not sign the bill, if it were passed. Later a story started which indicated that an "alumni coach" might profit in a political way by having the bill go through both branches and reach the veto stage. Accordingly, some may have regarded it as a duty to defeat the measure at the first opportunity.

Second, Progressives from St. Louis.—The 1911 session was the first in years in which "the Duluth delegation" in both House and Senate had not been solidly reactionary. They had stood with the brewery combine, the railroad ring and the special interests generally. Because they were universally "wrong" on all other fundamental and moral questions, the insurgents who had not made a personal study of the tonnage tax naturally reasoned that the St. Louis county members must be wrong also in their position on that question. Accordingly they refused to be influenced in the slightest degree by what the Duluth members said or did against the Bjorge bill.

But at this session the situation was different. Although most of the Duluth delegation in the House were reactionary to the core and dominated by Mr. Congdon, there were exceptions. N. S. Hillman was an unvarying insurgent, and E. R. Ribenack had progressive inclinations and performed excellent service for his home city on local issues. In the Senate, Boyle and Cheadle were both progressive on all fundamentally democratic questions. Because of this fact, they developed large influence among the insurgent element, which had its effect on the tonnage tax situation in the House.

* * *

The lesson of the 1911 session should not be lost upon Duluth and

the iron range region. All that was accomplished for that section came through the influence of the few progressives in their delegations. Senator Cheadle and Representative Ribenack were chiefly responsible for the enactment of the special law giving to Duluth the opportunity to escape from a local concern which had a practical monopoly of the electric supply for the city.

The failure of the reapportionment bill was due to the greed of the reactionaries back of it—they were seeking too much advantage for the special interests; as a result St. Louis county received nothing in that direction, and it was entitled to a great deal.

The time has passed when even "a master of men" like Chester A. Congdon can dominate through the usual methods of combination. Mr. Congdon is of a splendid type. Intellectually, he was one of the strongest individuals in the legislature. But he sacrificed all his fine qualities and worked hand in hand with brewery representatives and professional politicians through all the session—associations for which superior mentality and personal character could not atone in the eyes of the better class. He had the opportunity and the power to make the 1911 legislature truly representative of the people, but instead he permitted, even aided, the re-establishment of the old alliance between the brewery combine and the other special interests. Duluth lost what would have been gained by a different course.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FARRINGTON-FROSHAUG CONTEST.

It is bad enough to win an election, Lorimer-like, by buying votes; it is immeasurably more immoral and more criminal to change an election after the votes have been cast and counted. This is the story of how the Minnesota State Senate was saved the disgrace of giving approval to such ballot box tampering by only a single vote.

The 56th Legislative District, comprising the counties of Swift and Big Stone, witnessed a Senatorial race among S. J. Froshaug, prohibitionist, Ray G. Farrington, democrat, and T. J. McElligott, republican. Froshaug won by a plurality of twenty-one votes over Farrington, who in turn led McElligott by a few votes. The "friends" of Farrington instituted a contest and the ballots were recounted, giving Farrington a plurality of twenty-two over Froshaug. Mr. McElligott was evidently not an issue with those who prepared for and prosecuted the recount, for his total did not differ materially from the figures of the first returns. The canvassing boards gave Froshaug 1,406, Farrington 1,385; in the recount Farrington had 1,393, Froshaug 1,371. The difference meant that a clean cut, independent, progressive member would be unseated and his place in the Senate filled by a politician in every sense satisfactory to the brewery combine; but the change itself was not so serious or menacing as the fact of its accomplishment by the grossest, most palpable election frauds.

All criminality should be considered from two viewpoints: (1) the motive, and (2) the method. The motive of Farrington's "friends" is obvious—the liquor element were enraged over the election of a party prohibitionist, especially in a district served by one of their most faithful followers, and they resorted to the only possible method, that of entering ballot boxes and deliberately altering enough ballots to reverse the verdict of the voters. This was done in five precincts, Graceville, Clinton, Odessa, and Ortonville in Big Stone county, and Edison in Swift county, resulting as follows:

	Election Returns.		Recount.	
Precinct.	Farrington.	Froshaug.	Farrington.	Froshaug.
Graceville	149	6	150	3
Clinton	39	29	43	21
Odessa	61	42	68	36
Ortonville	238	81	236	73
Edison	4	13	4	8
Totals	491	171	501	141

The gain for Farrington in these five precincts, where ballot boxes were entered and votes changed, was forty.

Lieutenant-Governor Gordon appointed a Committee on Elections consisting of J. E. Haycraft, chairman; C. F. Cook, T. E. Cashman, F. E. Putnam, O. G. Dale. J. M. Hackney, James P. Boyle, Carl Wallace, and C. J. Gunderson. To this body was entrusted the task of investigating this contest, which they did with a thoroughness and patriotic devotion to duty which has rarely been equalled by public servants anywhere. For weeks they delved deeper and still more deeply into the case and finally, in the boxes themselves, found undisputable evidence of the fraud. If that committee had been even a trifle less conscientious

and determined to get at the truth, the dastardly crime would have been condoned by the sanction of the Senate. After nearly a month and a half of investigation, a period of almost continuous personal work on the part of several members of the Elections Committee, a majority report, recommending that Dr. Froshaug retain his seat, was sent to the Senate February 15th. Much of the story is told in that report. I quote from that document:

"From the evidence brought to the attention of your committee, the following combination of circumstances and conditions appear:

"First. The character of the ballot boxes in all but one of these disputed precincts is shown to have been peculiar and different from boxes ordinarily used for the purpose intended, and boxes affording easy means of access to their contents.

"Second. It appears that the care and custody of all but one of these ballot boxes was not as required by law, in one or two instances a ballot box not being in the care and custody of the legal custodian at all.

"Third. The testimony shows that the character and custody of the ballot boxes in dispute was such as to afford ample opportunity for tampering with the same.

"Fourth. It appears from this testimony that when the ballot boxes were opened, the contents examined and the ballots recounted, extraordinary and exceptional conditions were found to exist in each box, discrepancies of an unusual and unnatural character, and discrepancies which have never been in any manner explained. It further appears that crosses were made on ballots by persons other than the voter voting the ballot.

"Fifth. It appears that there was an exceptional and extraordinary number of ballots double crossed for candidates for Senator, to an extent making these five precincts differ abnormally from all other precincts in the district.

"Sixth. It is reasonable to presume that if these double crosses were placed thereon by the voter voting the ballot, the same conditions would have been found to exist in other offices for which there were two candidates on the same ballot, whereas an examination shows exactly the contrary to exist.

"Seventh. Out of the remaining thirty-seven precincts in this district re-counted by the inspectors, no irregularities such as stated above were found to exist at all, and this fact is conceded by both parties to this contest. That one of these conditions might exist alone and yet admit of explanation may be conceded; but that all of these conditions should exist together and concur cannot be explained or reconciled. The chain of circumstances proven by the existence and concurence of these unusual, abnormal conditions constitutes almost absolute proof that these ballots and ballot boxes have not only not been properly kept, but in fact have been tampered with; and such testimony and chain of circumstances prohibit a finding which could affect the correctness of the original returns."

The majority report of the Elections Committee considered separately each of the five precincts in which ballots had been tampered with, describing the conditions and changes as follows:

"Odessa.—The ballot box used in this precinct was a wooden box, lid on hinges, locked in front with a padlock, sealed with paper and sealing wax. This box was kept under the stage in the village hall. This hall was used for entertainments, lectures, dances, band practice,

and public functions in general. The marshal had a key to the building, as did also another. The apartment under the stage containing the box was not locked. The building was sometimes left unlocked for the use of the band boys, and left with no one in care of it. The custodian had no key to the building. He kept the township seal, an impression of which was placed upon the sealing wax when the box was locked and sealed on the night of election, in his desk at home, in which desk he kept township records, which records were examined by people other than custodian and family.

"The judges and clerks of election all testified before your Committee. It is shown from this testimony that one or two ballots were double crossed for senator, meaning by double crossed, where two candidates for senator were attempted to be voted for. The people testifying included the judge who read the ballots and the judge who watched him read them.

"When the box was opened by your committee and the ballots recounted, it was found that six ballots were double crossed for senator, while on the contested election for representative there were none double crossed. There were four double crossed for sheriff and two apparently in dispute. The original count in this precinct gave Froshaug 42, Farrington 61, and McElligott 18. The recount showed Froshaug 36, Farrington 68, and McElligott 16. Froshaug lost six votes, McElligott two, and Farrington gained seven. There was one Froshaug ballot with the initials D. A. on the bottom thereof, and one with the initials M. F."

The returns of the canvassing board showed that several of those voting at the November election did not vote for any candidate for State Senator; but the recount showed every ballot marked for that office. Senators Haycraft and Gunderson of the Committee on Elections made a careful inspection of all the ballots in this precinct to explain the discrepancy. They first placed the ballots in three piles—Farrington's in one, Froshaug's in another, and McElligott's in a third. Then they studied each for signs of fraud. In the Farrington pile they found seven with an X after his name which had obviously not been marked by the same person who made the other X's upon the ballot. In addition to being different from the regular marks of the voter, all of the seven—the number not originally voted for State Senator in that village and the number which Farrington gained in that precinct—were of similar style, as though written by the same person.

"Graceville.—The ballot box in this precinct was a fifty-pound lard can made of tin, had one hinge in the back and a hasp in the front. It locked with a padlock. The evidence shows that after the ballots were counted by the judges on the night of election, they were placed in this ballot box and the box closed and locked. A strip of paper attached to the can near the hinge was drawn across the top and attached to the can near the lock, both ends being sealed with sealing wax,—that the sealing wax and paper failed to adhere to one side. The clerk, Williams, testifies that the paper failed to adhere to the can probably on the hinged side. Inspector Thornton testifies that the paper was loose on the lock side and that when he opened the box to recount the ballots, he opened the same without breaking the paper.

"This box was kept in a vault in the village hall to which vault the custodian Williams and at least one other person, a Judge McDonald, knew the combination. It also appears that the members of the village council had access to the room in which the vault was situated. Such was the character of the box and such was the character of its care and custody.

"We next considered the condition of affairs when the box was opened. When the box was opened by your committee, it was found upon the recount that Froshaug had six votes, Farrington 150, and McElligott 44, whereas on the original count Froshaug had 9, Farrington 149, and McElligott 44. It appears that Froshaug lost 3 votes, or one-third of his entire vote on his original count, Farrington gained 1 vote, while McElligott's was the same. There were two ballots upon which two candidates for Senator had been crossed. There were two Froshaug ballots with the initials E. T. S. on the bottom thereof, one Farrington ballot with the name Paul Mahoney on the back thereof, and one with the initials J. K. on the back thereof."

"Ortonville.—The box used in this precinct was a peculiar box—a round metal box with a rod extending up in the center from the bottom of the box, with a thread on the end of the rod. The lid was fastened down by the rod, extended through a hole in the center of the lid, upon which a peculiar piece of iron with handle was screwed onto the rod, holding the lid down. It was then locked with two ordinary padlocks. The box was not sealed in any manner. It was kept in the room of the custodian, Matthews. The keys and the padlocks were kept in an ordinary envelope in the unlocked desk of the custodian in the same room. Custodian was a few times away from his room when it was not locked, once being called to Graceville upon a sort of fictitious, unexplained telephone message for a purpose in which it was known custodian was interested, but which trip when so made proved to be of no consequence for anybody, the man agreeing over the telephone to meet him failing to appear.

"The judges and clerks of election testified that there were three or four double crossed ballots for Senator. It also appears that a young man occupied the room with the custodian in which the ballot box was kept.

"The original count in this precinct was Froshaug 81, Farrington 238, McElligott 31. When the box was opened and the contents examined and the ballots recounted, it was found that Froshaug had 73 votes, Farrington 236, and McElligott 31; McElligott's vote remaining the same, Farrington losing two and Froshaug losing eight. In this precinct thirteen ballots were found double crossed for Senator. Upon examination of these ballots, it conclusively appears that some of the double crossed ballots for Senator had one of the crosses placed thereon by some person other than the voter voting the ballot. This also appears in the precincts of Clinton and Odessa. While there was the unusual and unreasonable number of thirteen ballots double crossed for Senator, thereby being absolutely inconsistent with the testimony of the judges of election, there was only one ballot double crossed for sheriff, a hotly contested election, and none whatever double crossed on the contest for Representatives. Ortonville is contestant's home precinct."

The telephone message referred to in the report seemed full of mystery and significance. Mr. Matthews, the custodian of the Ortonville ballot box, was summoned to Graceville, by telephone, to meet a stranger on a matter of business in which he was interested. Upon arriving in Graceville he discovered that no such man was awaiting him there. The trip took him away from his office, where the ballot box was kept, for a part of one day and night. Later it was found that instead of coming from Graceville, as Mr. Matthews was led to believe, the fake telephone message had been sent from a public booth in the Saint Paul Hotel. The logical conclusion is that some one had telephoned from

St. Paul for the purpose of getting Mr. Matthews out of town and giving the Ortonville artists an opportunity to open the ballot box in his absence.

If you will turn to the first inside page of the cover you will see evidence that the Ortonville box was opened and tampered with, either then or at some other time before the recount. Two sides of an Ortonville ballot were photographed and they tell the story almost as well as does the ballot itself. Only one end of the front and back of this ballot is shown in the cut. Note the peculiar, trembly appearance of the X placed after the name of S. J. Froshaug, which is almost identically the same as all the other X's on the ballot, except the much larger and in every way different one placed after the name of Ray G. Farrington. Obviously that X was made when the box was opened, for the purpose of invalidating the ballot and throwing out a vote for Froshaug, which, of course, it did.

But even more striking proof of fraud is shown by the back of this particular ballot. The voter had evidently marked his ballot writing on a rough board surface, which, together with unusual pressure of the pencil, made an impression clear through the ballot. On the back of that ballot every X is plainly visible, excepting only the extra X which invalidated it, which indicates that that X was not made by the same person and under the same conditions as the others. Those back side impressions were so plain that it was possible to photograph most of them, as is shown in the cut. The corresponding number, 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., show the original X's and where the same ones are impressed on the back of the ballot. The O's show the spurious X on the front and the corresponding place on the back of the ballot where there is not the slightest sign of it. Other ballots might have been photographed to testify to similar signs of tampering.

"**Clinton.**—This box was a wooden box and not locked—in fact, it never had a lock, being fastened with a nail—the cover fastened with hinges. It was sealed with paper and sealing wax in front, the paper extending over the lid. The clerk was not present when the box was sealed, but the witness, Blair, was present when it was sealed and fastened with a nail as aforesaid. This box was kept in a vacant store building used by J. D. Ross for the keeping of extras to machinery. The store building was a frame building on Main street in the village of Clinton. Mr. Ross and his two sons had keys to the doors. There were two windows in the rear of the building. The building was an old one—one of the oldest in town. The box was in plain sight.

"It appears from the returns and the testimony of the election officials that there were 80 votes cast in this precinct and 79 of them cast for Senator, the original count being Froshaug 29, Farrington 39, McElligott 11. When the box was opened and the contents examined and ballots counted by your committee, it was found that Froshaug had 21, a loss of 8 votes, McElligott 10, a loss of one vote, and Farrington 43, a gain of four votes. There were also found six ballots upon which two candidates for Senator had been crossed. There were two other offices contested in Big Stone county, viz.: representative to legislature and sheriff. There were two ballots upon which two candidates for sheriff had been crossed, but none where two candidates for representative had been voted for."

"**Edison.**—The box in this precinct was an ordinary metal box, lid on hinges, fastened in front with an ordinary padlock. This box was produced before the inspectors at Benson, Minnesota, last December, by the custodian, Fred Hallaway, who had kept it at his house. It was

sealed and locked. The box was brought by the custodian to Benson and taken to the Aldrich hotel shortly before midnight preceding the day on which it was recounted. It was placed in the office room of the hotel near the cigar case during the night. It had two coverings of paper around it and the string wrapped around the paper in a particular manner. When the custodian reached the box the following morning, to take it to the court house to be recounted, he immediately discovered that the box had been tampered with, the first thing being noticed was that the string was tied around the box in a different manner. He made this known to everybody who cared to hear there in the office of the hotel, including the attorneys for contestee and one Thomas B. Boyle, the custodian of the ballot box from another precinct in Swift county. The matter was talked about the hotel, the box taken to the court house, and the statements relative to its tampering reiterated in the presence of all there, including contestant. When the papers were removed from the box, the seal was found to be broken. It conclusively appears to your committee that this box had been opened the night preceding the recount at Benson.

"The clerk and one of the judges of election testified that in this precinct there was one ballot double crossed for Senator, and which was not counted, there being 45 votes cast and 44 counted for Senator.

"When the box was opened by your committee and the contents noted and the ballots counted, there were found to be six ballots double crossed for Senator, five more than were double crossed on the original count as shown by the evidence of the clerk and judge of election, and it is significant that contestee lost just five votes, and these ballots so double crossed for Senator are all ballots upon which a cross appears opposite to the name of contestee. The original count in this precinct showed 13 votes for Froshaug, 27 for McElligott, and four for Farrington. The recount showed Farrington's the same, but Froshaug's eight, a loss of five votes, losing about 40 per cent of his entire vote. The offices in Swift county for which there were more than one candidate were the offices of Representative, Treasurer, Sheriff, and County Attorney, and it appears there was a sharp contest in this precinct for all these offices. There was one ballot double crossed for Sheriff, one double crossed for Representative, and none double crossed for the other offices enumerated.

"An examination of each double crossed ballot convinces your committee that with the exception of one, there was a cross placed thereon for Senator by some person other than the voter who voted the ballot. It is somewhat significant that the judges testified that there was one ballot double crossed for Senator on the original count, and your committee's examination of all crossed ballots confirms that statement."

On the inside back page of the cover is reproduced a photograph of one of the changed ballots in this precinct. If there were not other absolute proof that the Edison ballot box was entered, this cut would tell the story. You will notice that all of the X's are almost uniform and obviously marked by the voter, excepting the extra X after the name of Thomas J. McElligott, which invalidated the ballot and made one less vote for Dr. Froshaug. On the original ballot, the voter, evidently some methodical citizen, drew his lines from corner to corner of the squares, while the spurious X was much smaller and in no way harmonized with the others.

* * *

The minority report of the Committee on Elections, signed by C. F. Cook, ended with this conclusion:

"There is no direct evidence at all, and no satisfactory evidence of any nature that any of these ballot boxes, or of the ballots therein, had been tampered with between the date of the election and the date of the recount by the inspectors, and the differences in the result of the recount of the inspectors and the return made by the judges of election must be attributed to mistakes of the judges and clerks of election."

Senator Cook in this connection, recommended the adoption of the following:

"Resolved, That Ray G. Farrington was duly elected Senator of the 56th Senatorial District at the General Election held November 8th, 1910, and that he is entitled to and be given the seat of Senator of that District in this Senate."

* * *

In order to get another view of the fight for Farrington, it is necessary to give brief consideration to one other contest for a seat in the Senate. John Saugstad and A. D. Stephens were candidates for the Republican nomination for State Senator in Polk county. Mr. Stephens won. Then Mr. Saugstad's friends instituted a "sticker" campaign, and by the use of stickers he defeated Mr. Stephens in the November election. Next Mr. Stephens prosecuted a contest, which was considered by the Committee on Elections. On February 2nd this body reported unanimously in favor of Saugstad, finding that his plurality over Stephens was 202. The will of the voters was expressed more unmistakably than those figures indicated, a great many Saugstad votes being thrown out because they were improperly marked.

Mr. Stephens was a reactionary of the most pronounced and unalterable type. Mr. Saugstad was a progressive in politics. But that was not the issue in the contest between them, which the Senate had to decide. The citizens of Polk county preferred Saugstad and gave him a majority of several hundred votes. He was elected and had every right, moral and legal, to retain his seat. I studied this Stephens-Saugstad contest from all possible angles. Every point of view led to the one inevitable conclusion: Its institutors must have been mistaken in their estimate of the probity of the Senate. There was nothing else upon which to hope for success in the attempt to thwart the plainly expressed will of the people and seat a Senator who had not been elected. Mr. Stephens had not the slightest legal or moral right to a place in the Senate, yet the reactionaries almost succeeded in creating a combination with votes enough to accomplish the dual disgrace of seating both him and Farrington.

The real test in the Saugstad-Stephens contest came on February 7th, the day fixed for final action on the case. The Froshaug-Farrington special order had been postponed to give the Committee on Elections more time to investigate. The brewery influences back of the combination wanted the Farrington matter settled first and if they had succeeded in that effort Farrington would have received enough support from Stephens' friends to have been seated, and the combination would probably have held together for the other contest. Everybody understood the issue when on February 7th, Senator Duxbury moved that final action in the Stephens contest be postponed until February 15th. Study the roll call on that motion and note the changes when the vote was taken on the question of seating Farrington. Senators Duxbury and Marden voted to postpone the Stephens contest. If that had been done in all probability they would have voted for Farrington, had his case been settled first. Even one of those two votes would have seated him. The roll call on the Duxbury motion resulted as follows, those voting

"aye" being either knowingly or unknowingly in favor of the objects of the combination for Farrington and Stephens:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Anderson, Carpenter, Coller, C. F. Cook, L. O. Cooke, Denegre, Donaldson, Dunn, Duxbury, Glotzbach, Gunn, Handlan, C. D. Johnson, Johnston, L'Herault, McGrath, Marden, Moonan, Pauly, Poehler, Pugh, Schaller, Stebbins, G. H. Sullivan, J. D. Sullivan, Van Hoven, Weis, Works—28.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: Ahmann, Bedford, Boyle, Cashman, Cheadle, Clague, Dale, Duea, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Froshaug, Gunderson, Hackney, Hanson, Haycraft, V. L. Johnson, Klein, Lende, Murray, Nelson, Odell, Olson, Peterson, Putnam, Rockne, Rustad, Sageng, Sundberg, Swanson, Thoe, Wallace, and Wilson—33.

After failing in this, only six Senators actually voted for Stephens when final action was taken later the same day. Chairman Haycraft of the Committee on Elections moved that the resolution seating Saugstad be adopted. Geo. H. Sullivan made a substitute motion that Stephens be seated. The vote was as follows:

For Stephens: L. O. Cooke, Dunn, Glotzbach, C. D. Johnson, G. H. Sullivan, Works—6.

For Saugstad: Ahmann, Anderson, Bedford, Boyle, Carpenter, Cashman, Cheadle, Clague, Coller, C. F. Cook, Dale, Denegre, Donaldson, Duea, Duxbury, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Froshaug, Gunderson, Gunn, Hackney, Handlan, Hanson, Haycraft, V. L. Johnson, Johnston, Klein, Lende, L'Herault, McGrath, Marden, Moonan, Murray, Nelson, Odell, Olson, Pauly, Peterson, Poehler, Pugh, Putnam, Rockne, Rustad, Sageng, Schaller, Stebbins, J. D. Sullivan, Sundberg, Swanson, Thoe, Van Hoven, Wallace, Weis, Wilson—55.

A difference of three votes on the Duxbury motion might have kept the combination intact against Froshaug, but its failure removed the Stephens element from the Farrington contest and undoubtedly prevented the disgrace which only the heroic work of Senators like Haycraft, Sageng, Gunderson, Putnam and Boyle, averted as it was.

* * *

There were four distinct stages in the fight for Farrington. First, the early indications were that the figures of the recount would stand. Next, the Elections Committee probed deeper into the case and discovered additional and conclusive evidence that ballot boxes had been entered and votes changed, which turned the tide in Froshaug's favor. This condition continued almost up to the day before the contest was decided and it was the general opinion that Farrington would not receive more than twenty votes.

Then came the final effort for Farrington. They cracked the party whip over the Democrats. Farrington's personal popularity was employed to bring some of his old senatorial associates into line. Votes for the Congdon reapportionment bill were traded for votes against Froshaug. Most potent, however, was the brewery organization, which brought into the new combination a number of the "old guard." Still a few were lacking on the day before final action and these were supplied, only the Lord knows how, in a last all-night hunt for votes. As a result, Farrington's friends, jaded but happy, entered the contest, claiming 34 who either did not understand the situation or else believed not in the will of the majority.

The last stage was the closing hour of the debate in which "the four" swung back to Froshaug and gave him the victory. That debate was dramatic and of epochical importance to the state. Senators Putnam, Gunderson, Sageng, Haycraft, and Boyle bore the brunt of the battle for the integrity of the ballot and the latter two closed the debate with a challenge to every friend of Farrington to inspect the changed ballots, which were in the building, before voting to unseat the man who was being cheated out of his position by an election fraud as heinous as it was obvious. That debate lasted five hours. It was so intense, so conclusive, that even Duxbury, one of the Senators who spoke for Farrington voted against him.

When Senator Haycraft moved that S. J. Froshaug retain his seat,

Senator Works, leader of the Farrington forces, made a substitute motion that Ray G. Farrington be seated. The roll call resulted as follows, Senator Hackney being absent, and Froshaug not voting:

For Farrington: Ahmann, Anderson, Carpenter, Cheadle, Coller, C. F. Cook, L. O. Cooke, Denegre, Donaldson, Dunn, Glotzbach, Gunn, Handlan, C. D. Johnson, Johnston, L'Herault, McGrath, Moonan, Murray, Olson, Pauly, Poehler, Pugh, Schaller, Stebbins, G. H. Sullivan, J. D. Sullivan, Van Hoven, Weis, Works—30.

For Froshaug: Bedford, Benson, Boyle, Cashman, Clague, Dale, Duea, Duxbury, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Gunderson, Hanson, Haycraft, V. L. Johnson, Klein, Lende, Marden, Nelson, Odell, Peterson, Putnam, Rockne, Rustad, Sageng, Saugstad, Sundberg, Swanson, Thoe, Wallace, Wilson—31.

Perhaps the people of Minnesota needed just such a disgrace as was averted by one vote, to arouse them to a realization that the brewery combine does not consider suffrage a sacred thing.

CHAPTER XV.

LABOR AND THE LEGISLATURE.

The proletariat is beginning to understand the significance of government. Political conditions always outweigh industrial conditions in the battle for bread. Laws more than labor determine how much of this world's wealth each shall possess and enjoy—which applies equally to overlord and layman. It is because men and women now realize that government means more, not in sentiment, but in dollars and cents, than any one's business, that they are rising everywhere to drive special interests and professional politicians out of power. The tidal wave of reform sentiment that is sweeping the country, is not due to a moral impulse on the part of the people—its origin and impetus exist in that uncompromising law of self-interest and self-preservation which ultimately actuates every race, and nine-tenths of America is in the ranks of toil.

Commercial conditions, the sequel of political conditions, are fast converting industrial democracy into a state where the rank and file are dependent upon more than their labor. There is neither competition nor co-operation to lessen the high cost of living for those who toil. Competition has been superseded by monopoly, and co-operation by paternalism in business. Both competition and co-operation, the only safeguards for the many, depend upon politics, controlled by the few. Legislation is becoming a matter of millions for the special interests and of bread and butter for all who contribute their mite.

What did the Minnesota Legislature of 1911 do in respect to labor? I shall only recite enough to suggest the general situation.

* * *

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

Labor was supremely interested in the enactment of an initiative and referendum amendment. The story of that struggle and of its phases of special importance to organized labor, has already been told. The Joint Labor Legislation Board published a report after the session, signed by Robert E. Jones, Dennis J. Hayes, and Tom J. McGrath, in which this issue was discussed as follows:

"Several bills on this subject were introduced by different House members. The Joint Board endorsed the bill known as H. F. 681, which provided that legislation might be initiated upon the petition of 10 per cent of the legal voters of the state, and that the referendum might be invoked by 7 per cent of the voters. The only pronounced opposition to this bill emanated from the brewery interests.

"However, we have every reason to believe that the bill would have passed had not the President of the Minnesota State Federation and its legislative agent, without the knowledge or authority of the Board and in violation of its by-laws, attempted both verbally and through the press to release members of the Legislature from the pledges made to the Board to vote for the bill. The following named members of the House pledged themselves without qualification to vote for the Initiative and Referendum bill which might be endorsed by the board, and then afterwards repudiated their pledges by voting against the bill; K. S.

Aker, Neillsville; C. W. Bouck, Royalton; R. J. Clarke, St. Paul; Moyle Edwards, Breckenridge; E. J. Fuchs, St. Paul; John A. Healey, Hibbing; Frank Hopkins, Fairfax; J. J. Hurley, St. Paul; J. P. Jelinek, St. Paul; Jos. Peters, Farmington; Frank Minette, Sauk Center, and C. P. Schuler, Winona.

"After a discussion of the proposition, which consumed two days of this session, the so-called Pfaender Bill, H. H. 718, passed the House by a vote of 63 to 50. The percentages in this bill were so high as to make the bill impracticable and inoperative and therefore we publicly denounced the bill, which failed of passage in the Senate."

* * *

WORKINGMAN'S COMPENSATION ACT.

This session, like its predecessor, succeeded in averting any final action on an employers' liability bill. Several measures were introduced, which accomplished the usual condition of chaos and discord. This legislation was of more importance to the laboring element than any other, excepting the initiative and referendum. Yet it was defeated almost without effort.

* * *

THE LUNDEEN BILL.

In this connection, after the hardest kind of a struggle, Ernest Lundeen did succeed in securing the passage of a bill increasing the amount for damages which could be collected for "wrongful death" from $5,000 to $7,500. This was H. F. No. 34, introduced January 17th. It met with many parliamentary obstructions, imposed in its path by Alex Nelson and others, but finally passed the House February 24th by the following vote:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Aker, And. Anderson, A. V. Anderson, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Clarke, Conley, Converse, Crane, Davies, Diessner, R. C. Dunn, Edwards, Farley, Ferguson, Fowler, Frankson, Fuchs, Greene, Harding, Hauge, Herzberg, Hillman, Holmberg, Hopkins, Hurley, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, Just, Keefe, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lundeen, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McMartin, McNeil, Mattson, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Morton, Nash, H. Nelson, Nolan, O'Brien, Orr, Palmer, Perry, Peters, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Rines, Robertson, Robinson, Rustad, Saggau, Schuler, Skartum, Spooner, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Utecht, C. H. Warner, E. Warner, Westcott, White, Whiting, Wisniewski, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—87.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: Denzer, Henion, Hoffman, Holten, J. T. Johnson, Klemer, Knutson, Lindberg, A. Nelson, Nye, Nygren, O'Neill, O. Peterson, Putnam, Schwartz, C. E. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Virtue—20.

The measure had even more difficulty in the Senate. After surviving an onslaught in the Judiciary Committee, it passed the upper branch on the last day by a vote of 33 to 30, as follows:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Ahmann, Bedford, Boyle, Cashman, Cheadle, C. F. Cook, Duxbury, Fosseen, Gunderson, Hackney, Handlan, Haycraft, Johnston, Lende, L'Herault, McGrath, Marden, Moonan, Murray, Nelson, Odell, Olson, Pauly, Peterson, Pugh, Putnam, Rustad, Sageng, Saugstad, Schaller, Sundberg, Van Hoven, Works—33.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: Anderson, Benson, Carpenter, Clague, Coller, L. O. Cooke, Dale, Denegre, Donaldson, Duea, Dunn, Dwinnell, Elwell, Froshaug, Glotzbach, Gunn, Hanson, C. D. Johnson, V. L. Johnson, Klein, Poehler, Rockne, Stebbins, G. H. Sullivan, J. D. Sullivan, Swanson, Thoe, Wallace, Weis, Wilson—30.

* * *

THE KNUTSON BILL.

The report of the Joint Labor Legislation Board discussed an attempt at "constructive" work as follows:

"Another bill of vital interest to the laboring men was H. F. 455, introduced on February 14th, by Knute Knutson, of Swift Falls. It was referred to the Committee on General Legislation and reported back March 3rd. The bill in substance purported to compel the submission of industrial disputes to a board of arbitration, before a strike could

be declared. The bill was so drafted that a strike could not be called within a period of seventy-five days from the time the controversy arose, without subjecting the participants to a severe penalty, while the employer might discharge his men any time during that period. The bill in its other features was so inequitable and unfair that we deemed it to the best interests of the laboring men to use our influence in killing it, which we accordingly did."

This Knutson bill was placed upon its final passage in the House March 29th, and defeated:

For the Knutson Bill and Against Labor: And. Anderson, A. V. Anderson, Congdon, Converse, R. C. Dunn, Ferguson, Harding, Hauge, Hoffman, Holten, Hopkins, Knutson, Lennon, MacKenzie, McMartin, McNeil, Mattson, Morton, H. Nelson, Nygren, O'Neill, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, O. Peterson, Rines, Robertson, Sampson, Schwartz, Skartum, Spooner, C. H. Warner, Washburn, White, Wisniewski—34.

Against H. F. No. 455: Aker, J. J. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Clarke, Conley, Crane, Davies, Denzer, Diessner, Edwards, Farley, Fowler, Frankson, Fuchs, Greene, Hafften, Healy, Herzberg, Hillman, Holmberg, Hurley, Jelinek, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, J. T. Johnson, Just, Keefe, Kelley, Klemer, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, S. N. Lee, Lindberg, Lundeen, Lydiard, McDonald, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Nash, A. Nelson, Nolan, Nye, O'Brien, Orr, Palmer, Papke, Perry, Peters, Pfaender, Putnam, Reed, Ribenack, Robinson, Rustad, Saggau, Schuler, W. T. Stone, Sulerud, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Utecht, Virtue, Voxland, E. Warner, Wescott, Whiting, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—79.

* * *

CHILD LABOR LAW.

H. F. No. 558, by W. A. Campbell, of the Committee on Labor, was an excellent measure designed to protect both the morals and health of the young. It was drafted with especial reference to the white slave traffic in young girls. But it went down to defeat because it would have interfered a little with the employing class. "Team work" and the "brewery bunch" accomplished the killing. The bill passed the House and was held in the Senate until a few minutes before twelve on the last night. The upper branch had amended the measure by striking out one word, necessitating its repassage by the House—which was the "team work." The "brewery bunch" was guarding the clock and forced final adjournment before it could be acted upon.

* * *

THE FIREMEN'S BILL.

H. F. No. 66, by Mr. Fuchs, authorized street railway companies to grant free transportation to firemen and policemen. It passed the House January 26th, by a vote of 77 to 32, many of the progressives opposing on the ground that it conflicted with the principle of the anti-pass law. The vote was as follows:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Aker, And. Anderson, Boothroyd, Borgen, Bouck, G. W. Brown, L. D. Brown, Burnquist, Campbell, Christie, Clarke, Congdon, Converse, Denzer, Diessner, Farley, Ferguson, Fowler, Fuchs, Greene, Hauge, Healy, Henion, Herzberg, Hillman, Hoffman, Hurley, Jelinek, Just, Keefe, Kelley, Knapp, Kneeland, Kunze, S. N. Lee, Lennon, Libera, Lundeen, Lydiard, McDonald, MacKenzie, McMartin, McNeil, Mettling, Minette, Moriarity, Morton, H. Nelson, Nolan, O'Brien, O'Neill, Orr, Palmer, Papke, Perry, Peters, O. Peterson, Pfaender, Reed, Ribenack, Rice, Robinson, Saggau, Schuler, Schwartz, C. E. Stone, W. T. Stone, Sullivan, Thielen, Untiedt, Virtue, E. Warner, Washburn, Westcott, White, Whiting, and Speaker H. H. Dunn—77.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: J. J. Anderson, Conley, Crane, Davies, Davis, Edwards, Frankson, Hafften, Harding, Holmberg, Holten, Hopkins, C. E. Johnson, J. N. Johnson, Klemer, Knutson, I. J. Lee, J. F. Lee, Lindberg, Mattson, A. Nelson, Nygren, A. J. Peterson, J. E. Peterson, Putnam, Rines, Robertson, Rustad, Sampson, Skartum, Spooner, Sulerud, Voxland, Webb, and Wisniewski—32.

The fireman's bill passed the Senate March 9th by the following vote:

Those Who Voted in the Affirmative Were: Cheadle, Clague, Coller, C. F. Cook, Denegre, Duea, Dunn, Duxbury, Dwinnell, Elwell, Fosseen, Froshaug, Hackney, Handlan, Haycraft, V. L. Johnson, L'Herault, McGrath, Moonan, Nelson, Pauly, Poehler, Pugh, Rockne, Rustad, Saugstad, Schaller, J. D. Sullivan, Swanson, Van Hoven, Wallace, Weis, Wilson—33.

Those Who Voted in the Negative Were: Ahmann, Anderson, Bedford, Benson, Boyle, Carpenter, Cashman, L. O. Cooke, Dale, Donaldson, Glotzbach, Gunn, Hanson, C. D. Johnson,

Johnston, Klein, Lende, Marden, Murray, Odell, Olson, Peterson, Sageng, Stebbins, G. H. Sullivan, Sundberg, Thoe, Works—28.

Governor Eberhart vetoed the measure and an attempt to pass it over his veto failed. When H. F. No. 66 was placed upon its repassage Representative W. A. Campbell suggested that it had been vetoed in the interest of the Twin City Rapid Transit Co., through the influence of E. E. Smith, but subsequently apologized voluntarily for "unparliamentary" language.

The Committee on Labor in the House was headed by W. A. Campbell and contained a majority of other progressives. This committee was virtually selected by the labor organizations and performed excellent service throughout the session. But some of the most important measures affecting labor were sent elsewhere. The employer's liability bills were placed in the hands of the Judiciary, and the Knutson bill against labor went to the Committee on General Legislation.

CHAPTER XVI.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Sometimes the only way to measure the importance of a political issue is to consider the character and purpose of those opposed to it. Viewed in that light female suffrage at once takes rank with the most crucial questions that concern our citizenship. The three things most feared by the special interests and professional politicians were: (1) the initiative and referendum; (2) woman suffrage; and (3) an amendment such as was attempted in the Sulerud bill, giving the people a chance to change their own constitution.

There are only two fundamental phases of the question of political equality. The first embodies the idea of the right of every intelligent, law-abiding individual unit of society to a voice in government. The second is the idea of more collective authority, more ultimate power in government for all who vote. The first means woman suffrage and the second, direct legislation through the initiative, referendum and recall. These two reforms are kindred in every sense, just this difference existing between them; one relates to the unit of society; the other to society as a whole.

The brewery opposition to woman suffrage was subtly masked. The fundamental nature and consequence of the issue was kept completely in the background. The fight was made on the ground that it was only a woman's question and that the women themselves were not seeking the ballot—a pitifully inadequate excuse which must have induced no end of bacchanalian laughter in Carling circles. It is a man's question. Equal suffrage should not be considered as a means of giving to women something which they want and to which they are entitled, but as an agency of good government. That is precisely why the brewery combine classes woman suffrage with direct legislation as a menace to their political supremacy in the state.

Senator Sageng introduced S. F. No. 59, proposing a constitutional amendment giving the ballot to women. The bill did not grant woman suffrage; it only gave to the people an opportunity to vote upon the question and decide for themselves whether or not that amendment should be incorporated into the constitution. Those who voted against the measure did more than signify their opposition to the idea of equal suffrage; they assumed an intelligence and power higher than sovereignty itself by denying to the people the right to settle the question. Is it any wonder that direct legislation is demanded, and is coming?

The question did not come to a vote in the House. In the Senate the bill was defeated by the following vote:

To Give the People an Opportunity To Decide the Question of Woman Suffrage: Bedford, Benson, Boyle, Cashman, Cheadle, C. F. Cook, Dale, Denegre, Duxbury, Elwell, Froshaug, Gunderson, Hanson, Haycraft, C. D. Johnson, V. L. Johnson, Lende, Meonan, Nelson, Odell, Olson, Peterson, Putnam, Rustad, Sageng, Saugstad, Schaller, Sundberg, Thoe, Wilson—30.

To Kill Woman Suffrage, Denying the Right of the People to Vote Upon the Question: Ahmann, Anderson, Carpenter, Clague, Coller, L. O. Cooke, Donaldson, Duea, Dunn, Dwinnell, Fosseen, Glotzbach, Gunn, Hackney, Handlan, Johnston, Klein, L'Herault, McGrath, Marden, Murray, Pauly, Poehler, Pugh, Rockne, G. H. Sullivan, J. D. Sullivan, Swanson, VanHoven, Wallace, Weis, Works—32.

Thus again was the judgment of the reapportionment schemers justified. Verily, a "safe" Senate would be sufficient for their purposes.

CHAPTER XVII.

"HOLD-UP" LEGISLATION.

Legislators are no ordinary burglars, or "hold-up" artists. They do not go forth upon the highways and, at the point of a pistol, take away a man's valuables. With them, it is not the usual salutation—"your money or your life!" Instead they say—"pay our price, or we will legislate against your business."

For example, when H. F. No. 71, prohibiting theatrical entertainments on the Sabbath, came into the House, it was the signal for showmen to hold up their hands, while the legislative highwaymen went through their pockets and extracted passes to the theatres. If the managers had resisted, the robbers would not have shot them; but they would have tried to pass the bill. Rather than face decreased revenue from being forced to keep their playhouses dark on Sundays, the theatre men gave up the tickets, in return for which the measure was "indefinitely postponed." This was done by the Committee on General Legislation on February 28th. Chas. W. Bouck was the author of this bill. He may not have known how it would tap the ticket tank. It is possible that he may have been imposed upon and "used" by "alumni coaches" or others who were familiar with the orthodox method of obtaining passes.

A "hold-up" bill is not always a sign that its author is a highwayman. Many measures presented for purposes of graft are not introduced by grafters. New members often give parentage to such bills, and neither profit nor understand why they are killed. "Hold-up" bills always have merit—otherwise none would be interested in their defeat—and the merit is all that the inexperienced lawmaker sees. So the fact that a certain member introduced a certain measure of the character indicated in this chapter is not an accusation that his act and inclinations were criminal.

In previous sessions fuel and lumber dealers have had opportunities to hold up their hands, leaving their pockets unprotected. This condition has been brought to pass through legislative investigations. Some members would introduce a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee to investigate the fuel or lumber "combine," alleging that it was in restraint of trade and consequently illegal. Then, if those to be investigated, made satisfactory "arrangements" with the investigators, the inquiry became a whitewash. On January 12th, Moyle Edwards presented a resolution asking for an investigation of the fuel companies in Minnesota. Chas. R. Fowler blocked it temporarily by giving "notice of debate," and Mr. Edwards never attempted to force it to a vote.

"The fur bill" is a good illustration. It was H. F. No. 518, introduced by W. H. Wescott on February 17th. This measure sought to regulate the manufacture and sale of fur garments in such a way that it would have interfered with the profits of those in that business. I do not know that Mr. Wescott and those on the outside who drafted this measure, or any of them, had any hold-up intentions in the premises; nor do I know that the furriers acted their part in killing the bill; but the Committee on General Legislation "indefinitely postponed" it on March 23rd. If this measure had been presented for the purpose of "holding-up" fur men, and if they had paid money to have it killed, the transaction would have been typical of this kind of legislation.

"Hold-up" bills are of two classes: (1) those introduced for the purpose of being killed, the interests attacked often being willing to pay

for their defeat; and (2) the constructive kind—the enactment of some law so favoring certain concerns that they would pay for its passage.

The method in the first class is about as follows: a coterie of professional politicians get control of two or three committees, usually the committees on Public Health and Pure Food, and Commerce and Retail Trade. Then some one of this crowd, or often some inexperienced and wholly innocent progressive, will introduce a bill aimed at some industry or individual. It will be referred to one of these committees which the plunderers control, where it will be killed—when those attacked have agreed to the terms of the robbers. And it would surprise you to know how little it takes at times to influence "statesmen" of this class. I know of $25 men, and a few even lower in the scale of criminal indigence.

Here are a few from a long list of bills of a character to indicate that they might have been such as to illustrate the suggestions of this chapter:

H. F. No. 523, prohibiting the sale of snuff, introduced February 17th, by Mr. O'Brien. Referred to the committee on Public Health and Pure Food.

H. F. No. 660, to prevent the sale of snuff, introduced February 28th, by Mr. Denzer, and referred to the committee on Public Health and Pure Food.

H. F. No. 668, prohibiting repeating shot guns, introduced March 1st, by Mr. Denzer, and referred to the Committee on Game and Fish.

H. F. No. 870, to prevent fraud in the sale of precious stones, introduced March 11th, by Mr. Denzer, and referred to the committee on Commerce and Retail Trade.

The Hauge Stock Food Bill—H. F. No. 476—was a measure about which there was much speculation. It would have greatly restricted the mammoth business of the International Stock Food Company. It passed the House but died in the Senate, largely because of the impression that certain Representatives had been in a "receptive" mood in the lower body.

The other kind of "hold-up" legislation might be suggested in these two specific cases: Chester A. Congdon introduced H. F. No. 381, repealing the anti-cigaret law, which was reported for passage unanimously by the Committee on Public and Pure Food. I use this bill, and the one which follows, only as illustrations of the general character and aspect of such measures. Mr. Congdon is a man high above "plunder." I do not believe that the tobacco companies gave any impetus to the bill. At the previous session, when the anti-cigaret law was enacted, if a little money had been used judiciously the bill might have been defeated. Perhaps the plunderers thought the Tobacco Trust had experienced a change of heart in the intervening two years and would be ready to do business.

The Hopkins bill—H. F. No. 190—requiring all cities and villages in the state to use voting machines was the kind of a measure which might have been used for "hold-up" purposes. Voting machines are practically controlled by a monopoly H. F. No. 190, if enacted, would have proved a "gold mine" for those in control, and, had they been unscrupulously inclined, they could have afforded to pay well for its passage. Probably neither Mr. Hopkins nor the voting machine monopoly ever thought of corruption in connection with the measure, which was defeated by a vote of 17 to 59, but it serves to illustrate the class of bills which confer special or monopolistic privileges.

This might be one of the longest chapters in the book. It is short because I desire to do no more than suggest the principle and practice of "hold-up" legislation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A CHARACTERIZATION OF MEMBERS.

Before proceeding to a classification of members, you should see something of the various avenues leading to the conclusions of this chapter. My task in this respect has been extremely difficult, made so by the masks which men wore. Because it was so complex, I have peered into many unusual legislative by-ways. Some of these were inspected in confidence, and I cannot indicate the foot prints therein revealed; in a few exceptional cases they showed that crafty statesmen had "backed in."

Just before final adjournment I sent a letter to each member of both House and Senate asking for a list of the bills in which he was especially interested and such suggestions as he cared to offer concerning the work of the session. Here is a sample of the statements contained in the responses: "I twice voted for the Recall. I voted for the State-Wide Primary. I voted for the Distance Tariff. I voted for the income tax amendment and stood with the temperance people on every temperance measure this winter." And yet neither the recall, the primary extension nor any of the other reforms mentioned or suggested was enacted into law. In preceding installments and in what follows, I have attempted to fix the responsibility for the shortcomings of the session without fear or favor. The main tests in the House were:

Fundamental Matters.—There were a number of vital issues relating to the legislature and to the more important question of enlarging the political opportunities of the people. These involved:

1. The Speakership—The organization of the House overshadowed in consequence every other phase of the session. The part republican members played in that contest is considered, their subsequent attitude toward the reactionary administration being taken into account. The democrats were not forced to disclose their real inclinations in reference to the speakership, but had many later opportunities to demonstrate where they stood. Almost in this same connection their votes in the selection of a successor to Senator Clapp is significant.

2. The Nolan Amendment.—The attempt on the part of the Progressives to compel publicity in the work of the standing committee first demonstrated which members wanted to reform the rules in this respect and which preferred the old Cannonistic conditions.

3. The Two-Thirds Resolution.—The reactionaries attempted, thru this resolution, to destroy the right of the majority to advance a bill, thus giving one-third the power to delay and defeat reform measures.

4. The Klemer Controversy.—The Klemer-Stone clash with the organization involved the fundamental issue of truth on one hand, and the rule or ruin principle of the reactionaries on the other.

5. Direct Legislation.—The first vote to advance the progressive initiative and referendum bill was the best test on this question, followed closely in consequence by the roll call on the progressive measure itself. The best test on the recall is the vote by which the Senate bill was taken from House Committee on Elections and made a special order where it could be voted upon in the open.

6. The Sulerud Bill.—The special interest enemies of popular government are safeguarded by the present provision which makes amendments to the constitution practically impossible. Therefore, the vote on the Sulerud bill which aimed to give the people a legitimate chance to change their own constitution is one of the most vital tests. In the same connection the Kneeland bill for a constitutional convention is important.

7. Election Measures.—"Team work" made unnecessary any crucial vote on the state-wide primary in the House and the general scheme of delay enabled the reactionaries to escape without a final vote on the Stone corrupt practices act and other election bills.

Moral Questions.—County option involved both fundamental and temperance principles. It was vitally democratic, because it gave to the people of each county the right to decide whether or not there should be saloons in that county. There were two test votes on county option: (1) When the administration attempted to diminish debate by hurrying the special order; and (2) the final vote on the bill. Other important temperance or moral tests were:

1. Local Option for 4th Class Cities.—The roll call which best separated the friends and the enemies of this idea was on the motion to concur in the Senate amendments to the "Speaker Dunn bill."

2. The Road House Bill.—The vote on the Rice amendment divided the sheep from the goats on this measure.

3. The Robinson Brewery Bill.—This measure regulating breweries in their relation to blind pigs, etc., came to a direct vote.

The Tonnage Tax.—The most significant roll call on the Franksen-Johnson bill was the one overturning the report killing it in committee.

The Distance Tariff.—The eleventh hour action of the House meant little because it came so late in the session that there was small chance for its reconsideration in the Senate.

Reapportionment.—The Congdon scheme of reapportionment was not completely unmasked until it reached the Senate. The Seven-Senator Bill came later, and largely as a result of a reaction against the Congdon measure.

Neither the vote for the Keefe bill nor the income tax amendment was very vital as a test in the House, because it appears that their defeat was expected in the Senate.

PARTY RECORDS.

Before taking up individuals, it may be well to briefly consider partisan influences and actions. Four political parties were represented in the membership of the House. They were Socialist, Prohibitionist, Democratic and Republican.

1. Socialist.—N. S. Hillman was the only member. He stood with the progressives on every issue, and if that party can be judged by his legislative acts and inclinations, it stands for fundamental democracy.

2. Prohibitionist.—There were four of this political faith in the House. All of them were active, conscientious progressives. They stood with the insurgent representatives of the other parties on all vital questions—temperance and otherwise.

3. Democratic.—So far as party influence was concerned the democrats were decidedly reactionary. They numbered 26 and had the balance of power throughout the session. Two of them, Clinton Robinson and F. L. Farley, were unvarying insurgents. Martin Schwartz was

nearly as progressively inclined, but felt restrained at times by the sentiment of his district. W. A. Just, L. Wisniewski, and Nygren were semi-progressive. On fundamental questions, Farley, Robinson, and Just voted for the Nolan amendment and only the first two for the progressive initiative and referendum bill on the real test. Schwartz joined with these two in supporting the Sulerud bill. The two were again alone on the two-thirds resolution, but were reinforced by Nygren and Wisniewski in their vote against the censuring of Klemer. Not a single democrat voted for county option, and at least 21 of the 26 stood with the liquor element on every vital question. The democrats, under the leadership of Albert Pfaender, were responsible for the defeat of an effective direct legislation bill. They had the same power and opportunity to extend the scope and scheme of democracy in other directions, but maintained their alliance with the reactionary republican organization on all vital questions, excepting the Keefe bill.

4. Republican.—There were eighty-nine republicans, the majority of whom were reactionary. The stand pat element, reinforced by the democrats, controlled the session. The progressive republicans aided by the four prohibitionists, one socialist and from three to five democrats kept up the unequal fight for fundamental reforms from start to finish. With small variations, the forces stood: Progressives, 45; Reactionaries, 75.

TRI-COUNTY DELEGATION.

More than one fourth of the entire House membership came from the three large counties, St. Louis, Ramsey and Hennepin. Of these 32, 24 were reactionary and eight progressive. On vital questions the Tri-County delegation stood as follows:

The Speakership: For Dunn, 20; for Burnquist, 4.
Nolan Amendment: Ayes, 9; Noes, 19.
Initiative and Referendum: Ayes, 9; Noes, 20.
The Sulerud Bill: Ayes, 4; Noes, 21.
Revision of Constitution: Ayes, 5; Noes, 21.
Two-Thirds Resolution: Ayes, 14; Noes, 8.
To Censure Klemer: Ayes, 23; Noes, 5.
County Option: Ayes, 9; Noes, 22.
Rice Amendment: Ayes, 21; Noes, 8.
To Concur, 4th Class City Bill: Ayes, 7; Noes, 20.
Tonnage Tax: Ayes, 1; Noes, 30.
Distance Tariff: Ayes, 0; Noes, 31.
The Congdon Bill: Ayes, 27; Noes, 3.

The individuals in the tri-county delegation are considered first, the members from St. Louis, Ramsey, and Hennepin counties being taken up in that order.

Anton Borgen, 50th Dist., Duluth.—A reactionary of exceedingly small capacity; always followed his bell wethers into the special interest camp; supported Speaker Dunn and remained loyal to his administration throughout the session; on real fundamental tests, he voted against the Nolan publicity amendment, all initiative and referendum bills, the Sulerud bill, the attempt to amend the Constitution and was for the two-thirds resolution; on election issues, he opposed the recall, extension of the primary and the Stone corrupt practices act; opposed county option and stood with the brewery element on every vital question. Mr. Borgen displayed little individual initiative or character as a law-maker and unhesitatingly followed the lead of bigger men.

Chester A. Congdon, 51st Dist., Duluth.—One of the brainiest and biggest men in the House. He controlled enough members so that it

was in his power to elevate the legislature high above the plane of political plunder upon which it acted; instead he permitted the re-establishment of the old alliance between the brewers and other special interests of the state; was one of a few responsible for Speaker Dunn's election, and was with his reactionary organization from start to finish; was a member of the Committee on Rnles; opposed the Nolan amendment to the rules and was against the insurgents on all fundamental tests. Voted to censure Klemer without a trial; voted three times against the recall and was opposed to election reforms; voted against county option and was with the brewery element on every important question affecting the liquor interests; was one of the signers of the protest which aided the efforts of the "brewery bunch" in defeating reforms by forcing final adjournment; was chairman of the reapportionment committee and was chiefly responsible for the scheme of reapportionment discussed in a previous chapter.

John A. Healy, 49th Dist., Hibbing.—One of the St. Louis county delegation who followed the lead of Congdon and always voted with the reactionary combination; supported Dunn for Speaker and stood consistently against the progressives on every vital economic and moral issue. Mr. Healy had small influence.

N. S. Hillman, 51st Dist., Lake County.—The only Socialist member in the House; aligned himself with the insurgents; took a prominent part in the fight for the initiative and referendum and all other progressive measures. Stood consistently against the special interests; had no part in the speakership fight, but cast his vote for Thomas Van Lear for United States Senator; voted for the Nolan publicity amendment; introduced one of the best initiative and referendum bills, but sidetracked his own measure in the interest of harmony among the progressives who were fighting for that reform; was for the Sulerud bill; wanted to revise the Constitution and opposed the two-thirds resolution; for Klemer; was progressive in all election questions; voted for county option, and with the insurgent element on every question affecting the regulation of the liquor traffic. Mr. Hillman was one of the most intelligent and uncompromising of the progressives.

C. T. Knapp, 49th Dist., Chisholm.—One of the youngest members; was clean and inclined to be progressive, although almost invariably found in the reactionary camp. Supported Dunn for Speaker; opposed the Nolan amendment; was against the progressives in all phases of the fight for direct legislation; opposed the Sulerud bill and the revision of the state constitution; was for the two-thirds resolution; stood with the organization against Klemer; was against county option; voted against the distance tariff. On real tests of strength between the special interests and the people Mr. Knapp stood with the former, but frequently voted to repudiate the Cannonistic action of committees.

E. R. Ribenack, 50th Dist., Duluth.—One of the twenty-six House Democrats. Was somewhat independent of bell wether influences and performed excellent services for the people of his home city. Voted for Clapp to succeed himself as United States Senator; was opposed to county option and all of the progressive attempts to restrict or regulate the liquor traffic, which associations carried him into the reactionary camp on many fundamental questions; he voted for the progressive initiative and referendum bill; stood with the organization against Klemer; opposed the Stone corrupt practices act and voted against the recall on the motion to concur in the Senate amendment on the last day. Mr. Ribenack was largely responsible for the passage through the House of the bill giving Duluth power over the Duluth-Edison Company.

ST. PAUL MEMBERS.

J. A. A. Burnquist, 33rd Dist.—Strong insurgent leader; was the progressive candidate for Speaker, which contest is discussed in the chapter on Speakership; was an uncompromising progressive and never failed to vote to give larger political opportunities to the people; supported the Nolan publicity amendment and took a prominent part in the fight for every fundamental fight for reform; opposed the two-thirds resolution and the censure of Klemer; stood with the progressives on every issue affecting the liquor traffic; opposed the tonnage tax and distance tariff. Mr. Burnquist displayed unusual ability and courage in his legislative work and made some of the best speeches of the session.

R. J. Clarke, 34th Dist.—Reactionary democrat who never wavered in his support of the special interest program. Voted for Dick O'Connor as a successor to Moses E. Clapp; opposed the progressives on every real test of strength; favored censuring Klemer without a hearing; opposed all election reforms; was with the brewery element throughout the session; one of the small minority who voted to whitewash the Secretary of State.

E. J. Fuchs, 33rd Dist.—One of the lesser reactionaries who never wavered in his support of the special interest program; voted against all initiative and referendum bills; was against Klemer. Mr. Fuchs was author of the firemen's bill.

T. J. Greene, 34th Dist.—A reactionary who voted consistently with the Dunn organization, excepting on the final passage of the progressive initiative and referendum bill; was unprogressive on moral issues; opposed county option; voted for the Rice amendment to the Dunn road house bill; opposed the Robinson brewery bill; voted to whitewash Schmahl. Mr. Greene made the motion that resulted in the final adjournment of the House with so much important work undone.

J. J. Hurley, 35th Dist.—One of the reactionary Democrats who made no trouble for the system. Was unprogressive on every vital question; voted three times against the recall and opposed the Stone corrupt practices act; voted for the extension of the primary which had no chance of passage; stood with the brewery element throughout the session. Mr. Hurley exerted no influence except in a petty political way.

John P. Jelinek, 35th District.—Supported Dunn and stood with the reactionary organization throughout the session; opposed both direct legislation bills, the Nolan amendment, county option and Klemer.

H. W. McDonald, 34th Dist.—Another machine democrat. Voted for Dick O'Connor to succeed Moses E. Clapp; opposed all initiative and referendum bills and was reactionary on other fundamental tests; voted with the brewery element from start to finish; voted to whitewash Schmahl. Mr. McDonald evidently regarded law making from the politician's point of view.

John D. O'Brien, 36th Dist.—One of the democratic bell wethers. Tried to lead his party associates to support Dick O'Connor for United States Senator; opposed the progressives and stood with the reactionary republican organization throughout the session; was the author of the twelve o'clock lid law and never missed an opportunity to exert his influence in behalf of the liquor element; voted against the recall on the real test; voted to whitewash Schmahl.

Charles N. Orr, 37th Dist.—One of the two insurgents from Ramsey county. Possessed good equipment, which was generally employed in the interest of the progressive program; supported Burnquist for Speaker, and stood with the progressives on the initiative and referendum, but opposed the Sulerud bill and the revision of the constitution; voted

against the two-thirds resolution; was with the organization on some of the votes against Klemer; for all election reforms; stood with the progressive element in favor of county option and against the brewery element on all other questions affecting the liquor interests; opposed the tonnage tax. Mr. Orr performed excellent service for his city, being largely responsible for the bill increasing the river port opportunities of St. Paul. He introduced three play-ground bills, a measure practically abolishing capital punishment and other bills of vital interest to St. Paul.

E. G. Perry, 37th Dist.—A reliable reactionary whose influence, when not negative, was exerted in the interest of the brewery and professional politician elements. Supported Dunn for Speaker and remained loyal to his organization throughout the session; opposed both initiative and referendum bills and was against the people on all other fundamental issues; opposed election reforms; voted against county option and the whole progressive program in so far as it related to the liquor traffic. Mr. Perry headed the Committee on Legislative Expenses, the inactivity of which is suggested in the chapter about the Plunderbund.

C. E. Stone, 36th Dist.—One of the leading lieutenants of Speaker Dunn; was reactionary on every important question before the legislature; voted against both direct legislation bills; voted to censure Klemer; voted three times against the recall, and was one of sixteen to vote against the primary election bill; always voted with the brewery element; a member of the crucial Committee on Rules; was one of the signers of the "protest" at the close. Mr. Stone was a quiet, scheming kind of member with considerable ability and influence.

MINNEAPOLIS MEMBERS.

William A. Campbell, 42nd Dist.—Insurgent leader; supported Dunn for Speaker, but stood consistently with the progressives throughout the session; supported the Nolan amendment and himself initiated several reforms in the rules; was one of the authors of the progressive initiative and referendum bill and took a leading part in the fight for that measure; voted for the Sulerud bill and to amend the Constitution; opposed the organization on its two-thirds resolution and the clash with Klemer; supported all election reforms; stood with the progressives on county option and every other temperance question excepting the statewide prohibition bill; opposed the Radisson bill. Mr. Campbell started an investigation of the state insurance department and, in spite of the fact that he was given a "packed" committee, succeeded in disclosing a great deal. Mr. Campbell distinguished himself by fighting the supplies and third house graft at every opportunity.

W. A. Fisher, 40th Dist.—His illness and death during the session stopped a promising legislative career. Mr. Fisher was able to attend only the first few days of the session, but during that time impressed his progressiveness and patriotism upon all his colleagues. He introduced a number of reform measures of the deepest fundamental importance and voted consistently with the insurgents.

Charles R. Fowler, 40th Dist.—A leading lieutenant of Speaker Dunn; considered one of the ablest and most dangerous reactionaries in the House; was a member of the crucial Committee on Rules; led the fight against the progressive initiative and referendum; opposed the Nolan amendment to the rules and voted against the progressives on every other question of fundamental importance; was against the Stone corrupt practices act; opposed county option and stood with the brewery combine on all other issues affecting the regulation or restriction of the liquor traffic. Mr. Fowler was himself a brewery attorney and his exceptional ability in fighting issues like direct legislation made him very valuable to those interests in the legislature.

Thomas Kneeland, 41st Dist.—Reactionary; was largely responsible for Speaker Dunn's election; voted against reforming the rules; opposed the progressive initiative and referendum bill, the Sulerud bill and voted to censure Klemer; voted for county option and against the Rice amendment to the road house bill but was against state-wide prohibition and the Robinson brewery bill; did not vote on the real test extending local option to cities of the fourth class. Mr. Kneeland was the author of several progressive measures, like the recall and the civil service bill, which shared the fate of other reforms. He was given one of the most important chairmanships—that of the Judiciary Committee—and usually stood with the organization.

W. F. Kunze, 39th Dist.—Began as a progressive, but ended reactionary. Aside from his vote for rules reform and the progressive initiative and referendum bill, which was cast under protest, he stood for much of the reactionary program; supported Speaker Dunn and took a leading pro-administration part in the Klemer controversy; voted against the Sulerud bill, against a revision of the Constitution and against the Stone corrupt practices act; voted for county option and stood with the progressive element on most liquor questions; voted against the Radisson bill. Mr. Kunze represented the University district and seemed to feel that it was necessary to stand in with the reactionary powers in order to get appropriations for that institution.

John G. Lennon, 41st Dist.—One of the leading lieutenants of Speaker Dunn; chosen speaker pro-tem. during Dunn's illness; a politician of extraordinary energy, which was employed against progressive measures; was closely allied with reactionary democrats; has a record consistently bad, except for one occasion when he sacrificed the system to promote a bill in which he was selfishly interested. On fundamental questions he was invariably unprogressive; always voted with the brewery element on liquor questions; supported the Rice amendment and voted against extending local option on the real test; had charge of the Radisson bill in the House.

Ernest Lundeen, 42nd Dist.—Insurgent leader; a fearless and able young man; made a speech seconding the nomination of Burnquist for Speaker, in which he asserted that reactionary influences were back of the other candidate; insurged beyond any other member by casting the only vote against the Cannonized rules; has an excellent record on progressive measures; voted for the Nolan amendment, the progressive initiative and referendum bill, the Sulerud bill, for revision of the state constitution; was against the two-thirds resolution and against the administration in the Klemer controversy; stood for all election reforms; opposed the county option bill, but introduced a measure on the same subject; voted with the insurgent element on all other liquor questions, except the Robinson brewery bill; voted against the Radisson bill. Mr. Lundeen introduced a measure providing for the election by the people of delegates to presidential conventions. He was active in behalf of legislation in the interest of the laboring class and secured the passage of a bill increasing damages for wrongful death to $7,500.

L. A. Lydiard, 43rd Dist.—Stood by the reactionaries in the legislature and gave evidence of acting in harmony with bosses higher up; was active in the fight against Whittier, which seemingly began as a political scheme to oust certain members of the Board of Control; voted against the Nolan amendment; opposed all initiative and referendum bills and was reactionary on other fundamental questions; voted to censure Klemer; voted against the recall on the real test; opposed county option and stood with the brewery combine on the most vital questions; voted against the Radisson bill.

Alex McNeil, 44th Dist.—Supported Dunn for Speaker; opposed the progressive initiative and referendum bill and the revision of the state constitution, but voted for the Sulerud bill; was against Klemer; voted for the recall and state wide primary; stood with the brewery interests against county option, public treating; was for the Rice amendment; voted against the Robinson brewery bill and extending local option to cities of the fourth class; voted for the Radisson bill.

John P. Nash, 41st Dist.—A reactionary politician who voted against the people, excepting when he was absent, which was a great deal of the time; voted against Klemer; opposed county option and stood with the liquor element on all vital issues; voted for the Radisson bill. Mr. Nash was author of the weights and measures bill which adds to the political opportunities of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission.

W. I. Nolan, 43rd Dist.—Was exceptionally well equipped for public service and made an enviable record as the floor leader of the progressive group; supported Burnquist for Speaker; was author of the Nolan amendment to the rules and took a prominent part in every fight for fundamental reforms; voted for the progressive initiative and referendum bill and against the Pfaender measure on the same subject; supported the Sulerud bill and revision of the state constitution; was responsible for the defeat of the two-thirds resolution; supported county option and stood with the insurgents on every liquor question; voted against the Radisson bill. Mr. Nolan was aggressive, fearless and forceful in all his work. He was especially active in supporting Minneapolis measures in the interest of the people.

George M. Nye, 44th Dist.—Of small caliber but perniciously active as a reactionary; supported Dunn and voted with the organization on every issue; opposed all fundamental reforms; voted against the recall on the real test; stood with the brewery combine whenever a vote was needed; voted for the Radisson bill.

Frank L. Palmer, 39th Dist.—Progressive; one of the six supporters of Dunn who insurged against the efforts of the organization to defeat reform measures; voted for the Nolan amendment and the progressive initiative and referendum bill, but was against the Sulerud bill and a revision of the Constitution; voted for Klemer; was for all election reforms; was chairman of the Committee on Temperance and opposed the brewery combine both in committee and on the floor of the House on every issue; voted against the Radisson bill. Mr. Palmer is a citizen of excellent judgment and good intentions; has a fine record of service for the people.

M. J. Sullivan, 38th Dist., Minneapolis.—A Dick O'Connor democrat with a record consistently bad. He voted against the progressive initiative and referendum bill and was reactionary on every other fundamental question; voted against the recall on the real test; voted for the Radisson bill. Mr. Sullivan was a signer of the "protest."

P. C. Thielen, 38th Dist., Minneapolis.—A new democratic member who was "delivered" with the majority of his party associates; was a colleague of Sullivan, followed him on roll call and invariably voted the same, being subject to the same influences and inclinations; voted for Dick O'Connor to succeed Clapp in the United States Senate; voted against all initiative and referendum bills; voted for the Radisson bill. The last midnight found Mr. Thielen in front of the clock.

W. D. Washburn, Jr., 41st Dist.—Has a mixed record, partly progressive and partly reactionary; supported Speaker Dunn and for the most part voted with the organization; did not vote on the Nolan amend-

ment, but opposed the progressive initiative and referendum bill; voted against the Sulerud bill and a revision of the Constitution; did not vote on the two-thirds revolution; was with the organization in its fight against Klemer; voted against the Stone corrupt practices act, but supported the recall and state-wide primary; voted for county option and the Robinson brewery bill and to extend local option to cities of the fourth class, but supported the Rice amendment which destroyed the road house bill; voted for the Radisson bill.

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Knute S. Aker, 62nd Dist., Polk County.—Reactionary; occupied a strategic position at the head of the roster and always started roll calls in the interest of the politicians; supported Speaker Dunn and remained loyal to the organization throughout the session, voting against the Nolan amendment, county option, initiative and referendum, Klemer, and the tonnage tax. Mr. Aker was a small, but dependable, servant of the system.

Andrew Anderson, 31st Dist., Washington County.—Almost always found on the side of the special interests; closely associated with Senator Geo. H. Sullivan, one of the most prominent and pernicious survivors of the old guard machine; voted against the Nolan amendment, the progressive initiative and referendum bill; the Sulerud bill, and was for the two-thirds resolution; opposed Klemer; was against the recall on the last test; stood with the liquor element; voted for the tonage tax and the distance tariff.

A. V. Anderson, 29th, Goodhue County.—One of the four prohibitionist members; stood consistently with the progressive group on all fundamental as well as moral issues; opposed the reactionary organization in its fight against Klemer and on all other questions affecting the special interests; voted for the tonnage tax and the distance tariff. Mr. Anderson developed into one of the most efficient members.

J. J. Anderson, 58th, Douglas County.—One of the most steadfast insurgents; an intelligent, conscientious member, always on the side of the people, on both moral and economic issues. Mr. Anderson was an uncompromising progressive; voted for the Nolan amendment, progressive initiative and referendum bill, the Sulerud bill, and aided Klemer; voted for the tonnage tax and the distance tariff. In his death the state lost a valuable legislator.

Frank Boothroyd, 29th, Goodhue County.—Supported Speaker Dunn; opposed the Nolan amendment, the Sulerud bill, and voted to censure Klemer, but favored the progressive initiative and referendum bill; was progressive on election measures; voted against county option, but favored extending local option to cities of the fourth class; voted for the tonnage tax, but opposed the distance tariff. Mr. Boothroyd was progressive at times, but usually stood with the organization.

Chas. W. Bouck, 48th, Morrison County.—A mere politician who associated with the special interest members; supported Dunn for Speaker and stood with the reactionary organization; voted against both direct legislation bills; was against Klemer; voted against the recall on the best test; opposed county option and the bill extending local option on the last test; was for the Rice amendment; voted to whitewash Schmahl; favored the distance tariff. Mr. Bouck introduced the biennial bill closing theatres on Sunday.

G. W. Brown, 24th, McLeod County.—Had progressive inclinations, but supported Speaker Dunn and became one of the most unvarying reactionaries; opposed the Nolan amendment; voted against both initiative

and referendum bills; voted to censure Klemer; opposed the recall on the best test; was against county option and the local option bill on the last test; voted for the Rice amendment; voted against the tonnage tax, but was for the distance tariff.

L. D. Brown, 48th, Morrison County.—One of the Speaker's leading lieutenants; was chairman of the Committee on Elections and did more than almost any other member to block progressive legislation; opposed both direct legislation bills and was reactionary on all other vital issues; voted twice against the recall and opposed the Stone corrupt practices act; invariably voted with the liquor interests; was against the tonnage tax, but supported the distance tariff.

F. C. J. Christie, 6th, Mower County.—Was reactionary at the beginning and the close, with a progressive period sandwiched in between; supported Speaker Dunn and opposed the Nolan amendment; in some way became identified with the insurgents group and stood with them in the fight for direct legislation, the Sulerud bill; and to sustain Klemer; was progressive on election measures; opposed county option; did not vote on the Rice amendment; opposed extending local option to fourth class cities on the last test; was against the tonnage tax and for the distance tariff. Mr. Christie opposed the Congdon reapportionment bill.

Kerry E. Conley, 4th, Olmstead County.—Strong insurgent leader; supported Burnquist for Speaker and never on any occasion failed to vote against the special interests. Mr. Conley did more than vote with the progressives on all moral and economic questions; he was always working and planning in behalf of the people. Although an old, experienced and well equipped member, he was given exceedingly small recognition by the reactionary organization. Mr. Conley was especially active in the fight against graft and introduced the resolution which made possible the publishing of the details concerning supplies in the chapter on the Plunderbund.

Phillip S. Converse, 60th, Becker County.—A new member who was buffeted about between progressive inclinations and the snares of the system; supported Speaker Dunn and was most often found with the organization; opposed the Nolan amendment, but supported the progressive initiative and referendum measure and the Sulerud bill; opposed county option, did not vote on the Rice amendment, nor the Robinson brewery bill; supported the measure extending local option to fourth class cities; voted for the tonnage tax and the distance tariff.

Ralph E. Crane, 6th, Mower County.—A progressive with an excellent record; supported Speaker Dunn, but later was against the organization; stood with the insurgents on all economic and moral issues; voted for county option and consistently opposed the liquor element; voted for the tonnage tax; was the author of the distance tariff bill in the House and secured its passage through that body; opposed the Congdon reapportionment bill.

Joseph Davies, 13th, Watonwan County.—Insurgent leader; a quiet but forceful, influential member, who always opposed the special interests; was for the Nolan amendment and was active in the fight for direct legislation and to sustain Klemer; worked hard for election reforms; opposed the brewery combine as often as he had opportunity; voted for the tonnage tax and the distance tariff; took a leading part in opposing the Congdon scheme of reapportionment.

Andrew Davis, 45th, Sherburne County.—Insurgent leader; one of the strong men of the progressive camp; supported Burnquist and remained an insurgent throughout the session; was a county optionist and espe-

cially active against the brewery influence. Mr. Davis performed excellent service in the preparation of the various appropriation bills.

G. H. Denzer, 27th, Le Sueur County.—A quiet, but experienced reactionary, who stood with the organization and voted for the special interests; opposed both direct legislation bills and voted to censure Klemer; was against the recall on the best test; voted against county option and extending local option on the last test; favored the Rice amendment; was against the tonnage tax, but voted for the distance tariff.

H. R. Diessner, 25th, Carver County.—New member and reactionary; for Speaker Dunn; against both direct legislation bills; against Klemer; voted twice against recall; opposed state-wide primary; pro-brewery; for the tonnage tax and distance tariff.

H. H. Dunn, 9th, Freeborn County.—Was the reactionary and successful candidate for Speaker; organized the House so as to give every advantage to the special interests and professional politicians; his influence and votes were against the progressives throughout the session; voted against both direct legislation bills; opposed Stone corrupt practices act; was against the recall on the best test; stood with the brewery element, even voting against the motion to concur in the Senate amendments to the bill extending local option to fourth class cities, which defeated the measure.

R. C. Dunn, 45th, Mille Lacs County.—Reactionary leader; one of the Speaker's lieutenants; was for county option and fathered the Road House bill, but usually stood for the special interest program; supported Speaker Dunn and remained loyal to his organization; was especially vehement and active against Klemer; against both direct legislation bills; opposed state-wide primary, Stone corrupt practices act and voted three times against the recall; opposed the distance tariff and was a leader in the fight against the tonnage tax. Mr. Dunn proved himself a politician of the old, old school. He was author of the "good roads" bills.

Moyle Edwards, 60th, Wilkin County.—Has a mixed record; voted with the progressives on many issues involving economy; supported Speaker Dunn; for Nolan amendment; opposed both direct legislation bills; voted against censuring Klemer; against the recall on best test; oposed state-wide primary; stood with the brewery element; was against the tonnage tax and distance tariff.

F. L. Farley, 1st, Houston County.—One of the two unvarying democratic insurgents; except for his vote against county option he stood with the progressives throughout the session; got out of a sick bed to vote for the progressive initiative and referendum bill; introduced a bill providing for a road and bridge fund, but his measure was side-tracked for the R. C. Dunn bill. Mr. Farley was absolutely immune to the usual democratic "inducements" and kept his own counsel and company. The people had no more consistent friend.

T. M. Ferguson, 52nd, Carlton County.—Posed as a progressive; supported Speaker Dunn and usually voted with the organization; opposed Klemer and kept up that course to the end by being the first signer of the "protest;" against Nolan amendment and the Sulerud bill, but voted for the progressive initiative and referendum bill; was for county option, but supported the Rice amendment to the road house bill; against the tonnage tax and distance tariff. Mr. Ferguson was uninfluential.

Thomas Frankson, 5th, Fillmore County.—Insurgent leader; always a sharp thorn in the flesh of the reactionary organization; supported Speaker Dunn, but took his stand with the progressives at the start and remained in that camp; for Nolan amendment, progressive direct legislation bill, Sulerud bill and Klemer; against county option, but voted with the insurgents on all other temperance questions; led in the fight for a

tonnage tax and was for the distance tariff. Mr. Frankson attacked the Congdon reapportionment bill with characteristic energy.

August Hafften, 46th, Wright County.—One of the lesser reactionaries; supported Speaker Dunn and his organization on all vital tests; against both direct legislation bills; opposed county option and stood for the liquor program; voted for the tonnage tax and the distance tariff; was willing to whitewash Schmall.

W. A. Harding, 12th, Faribault County.—One of the strongest and most influential insurgents; supported Burnquist and never wavered an inch in his progressive course; made the most telling speeches against the organization in the Klemer incident and on the Congdon bill; was a county optionist and progressive on all other moral and economic issues; voted for the tonnage tax and the distance tariff. Mr. Harding demonstrated exceptional force and influence.

O. Hauge, 31st, Washington County.—Supported Speaker Dunn; was for the Nolan amendment, but voted with the organization against Klemer and opposed the progressive direct legislation bill; against county option and the Robinson brewery bill, but opposed the Rice amendment; voted for the tonnage tax and distance tariff. Mr. Hauge was the author of the pure seed and stock food bills.

Alva Henion, 9th, Freeborn County.—Reactionary colleague of Speaker Dunn; uninfluential, but consistently against the progressive program; voted against both progressive direct legislation bills; voted to censure Klemer; opposed the recall on the best test; opposed county option and stood for the brewery combine, even voting for the Rice amendment and against the motion to concur in the Senate amendments to the bill extending local option to fourth class cities; voted for the tonnage tax and the distance tariff.

C. F. Herzberg, 11th, Blue Earth County.—One of the democrats who voted with the reactionary organization; against the progressive direct legislation bill, the Sulerud bill and Klemer; opposed the Stone corrupt practices act; stood for the brewery program; did not vote on the tonnage tax; was against the distance tariff.

Henry A. Hoffman, 4th, Olmstead County.—Had a mixed record, but was usually reactionary; supported Speaker Dunn and voted with his organization in the Klemer case and on most fundamental issues, excepting the Nolan amendment; voted against the recall once and against the state-wide primary; opposed county option and stood with the brewery element, even voting for the Rice amendment and against extending local option rights on the best test; was the only member of the tax committee to recommend the passage of the tonnage tax, and voted for the distance tariff. Mr. Hoffman voted against the Congdon reapportionment bill.

N. J. Holmberg, 22nd, Renville County.—Strong insurgent leader; supported Burnquist and was found with the progressives on every test of strength; had charge of the state-wide primary and succeeded in forcing that measure through the House; was prominent and influential in all the councils of the progressive element and displayed excellent constructive ability. Mr. Holmberg was responsible for the passage of H. F. No. 210, consolidating rural schools, one of the best educational measures of the session.

John Holten, 62nd, Polk County.—Did not vote in the Speakership contest, but took his stand with the progressives and remained in their camp throughout the session; was for the Nolan amendment, Sulerud bill, the progressive direct legislation bill and Klemer; was consistently against the brewery influence; voted for the tonnage tax and against the distance tariff.

Frank Hopkins, 22nd, Renville County.—Was called the "conundrum of the session;" has a mixed record; suported Speaker Dunn, opposed the Nolan amendment and the progressive initiative and referendum bill; voted to censure Klemer; opposed county option; was one of the authors of the anti-treating bill and usually voted against the brewery combine on liquor questions; voted against the tonnage tax; was for the distance tariff. Mr. Hopkins opposed the Congdon reapportionment bill.

C. E. Johnson, 55th, Kandiyohi County.—Insurgent leader; the first of "the three Johnsons," who were all always in the front ranks of the progressive group; supported Burnquist for Speaker and voted consistently in the interests of the people from the beginning to the end of the session; introduced a number of meritorious measures, among them being a bill to regulate the carrying of live stock on railroads; was especially interested in the county option bill, the initiative and referendum and the recall of all public officers. Mr. Johnson was one of the most intelligent and determined of the insurgents.

J. N. Johnson, 17th, Yellow Medicine County.—Strong insurgent leader; one of the two most hated men in the House, a distinction earned by his unceasing, uncompromising, fight against graft, extravagance and the brewery program; supported Burnquist and without a single exception stood with the progressives throughout the session; was one of the authors of the progressive initiative and referendum bill; voted against the spurious Pfaender bill; presented a number of anti-saloon measures; among them a bill extending local option to cities of the fourth class, which was defeated by the administration. In equipment, inclinations and influence, Mr. Johnson had no peer in the House.

J. T. Johnson, 59th, Otter Tail County.—Insurgent leader; never lagged behind the other Johnsons in his progressiveness; supported Burnquist and was an unvarying insurgent; voted against the special interests on all moral and economic questions; stood by Klemer; opposed the brewery combine on county option and other tests of strength; voted for the tonnage tax and the distance tariff. Mr. Johnson was one of the watch dogs of the treasury and took a leading part in the fight against extravagance in the purchasing of supplies.

W. A. Just, 11th, Blue Earth County.—Democrat; voted for Nolan amendment; against progressive direct legislation bill and Klemer; with the liquor element; against tonnage tax and distance tariff. Mr. Just was inclined better than he acted.

Joseph R. Keefe, 19th, Redwood County.—A democrat who voted for the program; opposed Nolan amendment, progressive direct legislation bill, Sulerud bill and Klemer; did not vote on Stone corrupt practices act; anti-county option and stood with the brewery combine, voting for the Rice amendment and against extending local option on the last test; against the Robinson brewery bill and for public treating; voted against the tonnage tax and the distance tariff. Mr. Keefe was author of the Oregon plan of electing United States senators.

Frank L. Kelly, 11th, Blue Earth County.—Almost a democratic bell wether; was conspicuously active and exerted some influence in a political way; always pro-brewery and reactionary; against the tonnage tax and for the distance tariff.

F. L. Klemer, 28th, Rice County.—Consistent insurgent; always voted for progressive measures and against the special interests. Created the sensation of the session by charging that special interests controlled the organization, which threw the house into a condition of chaos from which it did not recover before adjournment. Mr. Klemer is discussed in the chapter on Klemeritis and Stone Bruises. He was the people's friend.

Knute Knutson, 56th, Swift County.—Supported Burnquist, but was largely reactionary in his influence, which was small; voted against Nolan amendment, progressive direct legislation bill and the Sulerud bill; for Klemer; county optionist; was for the tonnage tax and distance tariff.

I. J. Lee, 58th, Pope County.—Insurgent leader; supported Burnquist and was an unvarying progressive on all moral and economic issues; not necessary to give details, as he was always against the special interests. Mr. Lee is experienced and well equipped for such public service.

J. F. Lee, 46th, Wright County.—Insurgent leader; supported Burnquist; a sincere advocate of county option and as uncompromisingly progressive on all other questions. Mr. Lee was a new member who showed fine character and influence; was always on the side of the people.

S. N. Lee, 60th, Clay County.—A private in the reactionary ranks; pro-brewery; invariably voted against the other Lees.

Albert P. Libera, 2nd, Winona.—New member of small capacity, who voted for Dunn and stood consistently with the reactionary organization.

R. J. Lindberg, 59th, Ottertail County.—Insurgent leader; supported Burnquist; was with the progressives on all vital questions. Mr. Lindberg proved a capable legislator and has a record not surpassed by any member.

George A. MacKenzie, 21st, Sibley County.—Chairman of Rules Committee and organization floor leader; was especally active in opposition to temperance legislation; has a record as a reactionary of the deepest dye.

Finlay McMartin, 7th, Dodge County.—Supported Burnquist and was a consistent insurgent, voting always on the side of greater morality, economy and efficiency in public matters.

G. H. Mattson, 63rd, Roseau County.—Was a little inclined towards reactionaryism at the beginning of the session, but usually voted on the reform side and performed excellent service for the progressives at the finish; a strong, influential member.

P. J. Mettling, 18th, Chippewa County.—Democrat who was coaxed and caucussed into the reactionary camp.

Frank E. Minette, 54th, Stearns County.—Reactionary democrat on fundamental questions; inclined to vote right on questions of smaller moment.

J. J. Moriarity, 26th, Scott County.—One of the democrats.

Rufus P. Morton, 45th, Mille Lacs County.—One of the four prohibitionists; was always with the progressive group on economic and temperance questions. Mr. Morton has fine ability and easily ranked among the best equipped and most patriotic members of the House.

Alex. Nelson, 59th, Ottertail County.—Supported Dunn; voted against the Nolan amendment, but was for the direct legislation bill, the Sulerud bill, and Klemer; voted for county option under protest; was for the tonnage tax and the distance tariff. Mr. Nelson stood with the organization a part of the time.

Herman Nelson, 15th, Murray County.—One of the smaller reactionaries who could do little more than vote against the people; pro-brewery, and opposed both the tonnage tax and the distance tariff.

Carl S. Nygren, 3rd, Wabasha County.—Democrat; supported the progressive initiative and referendum bill, but was usually reactionary.

D. P. O'Neill, 61st, Pennington County.—Supported Burnquist and stood with the insurgents on vital questions until the Klemer case; op-

posed the brewery influence throughout the session; was against the tonnage tax and the distance tariff.

John W. Papke, 10th, Waseca County.—A new member who became submerged in the reactionary system.

Joseph Peters, 30th, Dakota County.—Voted for Dick O'Connor to succeed Clapp; the rest of his record in harmony with that act.

A. J. Peterson, 18th, Lac Qui Parle County.—Insurgent leader; supported Burnquist and was one of the active, consistent progressives; midnight found him in front of the clock, but he was there for a different purpose than the "brewery bunch." Mr. Peterson represents the most intelligent and courageous type of legislator.

J. E. Peterson, 57th, Grant County.—Insurgent leader; voted for Burnquist; was one of minority members of the Temperance Committee and did excellent work there. Mr. Peterson was one of the best of the new members.

Ole Peterson, 20th, Nicollet County.—Record consistently unprogressive; gave one the impression that he would have preferred a different course.

Albert Pfaender, 19th, Brown County.—The democratic bell-wether; one of the administration lieutenants; was chiefly responsible for the defeat in the House of the progressive direct legislation bill.

H. A. Putnam, 59th, Ottertail County.—Insurgent leader; supported Burnquist, and never once failed to vote in the interest of the people; no member has a better record. Mr. Putnam has a clear conception of the right in all public questions and is one of the most dependable and valuable members ever sent to St. Paul.

George D. Reed, 28th, Rice County.—Reactionary; invariably neutralized the vote of his colleague, Mr. Klemer, on vital questions.

L. H. Rice, 53rd, Hubbard County.—Reliable reactionary; supported Dunn and always voted with the organization; demonstrated a close connection with the brewery element by offering the "Rice amendment," which emasculated the Road House Bill.

Henry Rines, 32nd, Kanabec County.—Insurgent leader; supported Burnquist and was consistently progressive; introduced the county option bill and ably conducted the fight for that reform; played a conspicuous part in advancing the state-wide primary. Mr. Rines had large influence and good ability.

Donald Robertson, 63rd, Marshall County.—Supported Burnquist and was usually progressive; opposed the Nolan amendment; was with the organization against Klemer part of the time.

Clinton Robinson, 2nd, Winona County.—Insurgent leader; one of the two unvarying democratic progressives; shared with J. N. Johnson the distinction of being the most hated member in the House; took a prominent part in the fight for every fundamental reform; continually kept the reactionaries and special interest members in hot water by his resolutions and plain talk; put the income tax amendment through the House; forced his brewery bill to a final vote; cast the only vote against the "supplies resolution." Mr. Robinson was almost a daily edition of Klemer.

John O. Rustad, 5th, Fillmore County.—Insurgent leader; was for Burnquist and the whole progressive program; was especially active in the interest of greater economy and efficiency. Mr. Rustad opposed the politicians and special interests from beginning to end.

H. A. Saggau, 13th, Martin County.—Democrat; one of the most "dependable."

John A. Sampson, 23rd, Meeker County.—Insurgent leader; supported Burnquist and was one of the steadfast progressives. Mr. Sampson was a sincere county optionist and equally reliable on other fundamental issues.

C. P. Schuler, 2nd, Winona.—An organization democrat.

Martin Schwartz, 27th, Le Sueur County.—Insurgent democrat, except when an anti-county option constituency compelled him to be reactionary; was naturally independent and progressive.

K. G. Skartum, 17th, Lincoln County.—Was elected as an independent republican; stood with the insurgents, voting for the Nolan amendment, the Sulerud bill, direct legislation, and Klemer; supported county option, election reforms, the distance tariff and tonnage tax.

Lewis C. Spooner, 57th, Stevens County.—Largely responsible for Dunn's election as Speaker, and had a hand in the organization of the House; usually voted with the reactionaries on fundamental tests like the Nolan amendment; voted for the progressive direct legislation bill under protest; took a leading part in the fight against Klemer; opposed the distance tariff and tonnage tax.

W. T. Stone, 53rd, Hubbard County.—Strong insurgent leader; displayed exceptional equipment for public service; introduced several measures of the deepest fundamental importance and fought heroicly for direct legislation, the recall and vital election reforms; opposed the brewery combine with voice and vote; shared in the persecution of Klemer and came back with charges of corruption which were never met. The people had no more loyal, intelligent and courageous friend than Dr. Stone.

C. L. Sulerud, 61st, Norman County.—Insurgent leader; the only old prohibitionist member; was author of the bill to enable the people to change their own constitution and was in the forefront of the progressives on all other vital issues. Mr. Sulerud considered all questions from the fundamental and moral point of view.

Henry Untiedt, 14th, Jackson County.—A "regular" democrat.

Aug. M. Utecht, 54th, Stearns County.—A democratic "regular."

Leonard Virtue, 8th, Steele County.—Democrat; pro-brewery and reactionary on all vital issues; voted for Dick O'Connor for U. S. Senator; signed the "protest"; opposed progressive direct legislation bill, recall, and state-wide primary.

Geo. H. Voxland, 29th, Goodhue County.—Prohibitionist serving his first term; stood with the progressives on all tests of strength between the special interests and the people. Mr. Voxland was always busy and a very valuable member.

C. H. Warner, 52nd, Aitkin County.—County optionist who supported Dunn; opposed the Nolan amendment, progressive legislation bill, Sulerud bill and Klemer.

E. Warner, 14th, Cottonwood County.—Insurgent; supported Burnquist and has a consistent record of progressive votes.

Henry P. Webb, 32nd, Pine County.—Insurgent leader; supported Burnquist and stood with the progressives from start to finish. Mr. Webb did excellent work for the people on the "packed" Temperance Committee.

W. H. Westcott, 30th, Dakota County.—A politician of the plunder type; leading lieutenant of Speaker Dunn.

Harrison White, 16th, Rock County.—Supported the administration; pro-brewery; a reactionary of the unvarying sort.

E. F. Whiting, 17th, Lyon County.—Insurgent; one of the quiet, new members, who stood with the progressives; had ability and determination.

L. Wiesniewski, 47th, Benton County.—Semi-insurgent; was progressive except when the sentiment of his district restrained him; voted to advance the progressive initiative and referendum bill; opposed the censuring of Klemer. Mr. Wiesniewski introduced the "locker" bill and opposed graft and extravagance in every form.

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THE SENATE.

Comparatively few vital questions came to a direct vote in the Senate. There was too much courtesy and too little Klemeritis in that body. Senator Dunn, brewery attorney, was permitted to keep the initiative and referendum bills pigeon-holed so long that they were never reached. Senator Wallace did the same with the income tax amendment. The best tests in the Senate are the Farrington-Froshaug contest, county option, woman suffrage, reapportionment, the vote to delay the passage of the state-wide primary which defeated that reform, and the roll call upon the question of final adjournment with the recall, state-wide primary and other important legislation pending.

Tri-County Senators.

James P. Boyle, 49th, St. Louis County.—Insurgent leader; largely responsible for seating Froshaug; for recall, state-wide primary, Keefe bill and woman suffrage. Mr. Boyle manifested exceptional ability and was among the staunchest progressives.

H. W. Cheadle, 51st, Duluth.—Stood with the progressives except in the fight for Farrington; did excellent work for his home city.

T. M. Pugh, 50th, Duluth.—Reactionary in everything.

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J. D. Denegre, 36th, St. Paul.—For Farrington; reactionary except for a vote in favor of woman suffrage.

W. W. Dunn, 33rd, St. Paul.—Brewery attorney; for Farrington and reapportionment; against recall, Keefe bill, state-wide primary and woman suffrage; made the motion for final adjournment.

Jos. M Hackney, 37th, St. Paul.—The only insurgent senator from Ramsey County; an able, courageous progressive; supported county option.

James Handlan, 34th, St. Paul.—A Dick O'Connor democrat; for Farrington.

Peter Van Hoven, 35th, St. Paul.—Very reactionary; against state-wide primary; for Farrington.

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W. S. Dwinnell, 40th, Minneapolis.—Progressive; opposed Farrington; for fundamental reforms; voted against final adjournment; has fine ability and integrity.

J. T. Elwell, 39th, Minneapolis.—Progressive; opposed Farrington; for County option and woman suffrage; proved that it is not necessary to be reactionary to get appropriations for the University.

Manley L. Fosseen, 42nd, Minneapolis.—Semi-progressive; against Farrington; for county option; did good work for Keefe bill, but opposed woman suffrage, voted to delay the state-wide primary and supported the motion for final adjournment.

N. A. L'Herault, 38th, Minneapolis.—A Dick O'Connor democrat; for Farrington; supported the motion which killed the state-wide primary; reactionary influence.

J. W. Pauly, 44th, Minneapolis.—Supported Farrington; opposed county option and woman suffrage; was deeply interested in direct legislation and election reforms.

Carl L. Wallace, 43rd, Minneapolis.—County optionist and voted to seat Froshaug; opposed woman suffrage, state-wide primary on last test. and voted for final adjournment with action pending on several vital questions. Mr. Wallace was chiefly responsible for the defeat of the income tax amendment.

Geo. P. Wilson, 41st, Minneapolis.—For Froshaug and county option; voted for woman suffrage and opposed final adjournment; was against the state-wide primary on the crucial roll call.

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J. J. Ahmann, 54th, Stearns County.—Democrat; headed the roster and could usually be depended upon to start roll calls in the interest of the people; voted for Farrington and against county option; also opposed woman suffrage, but supported election reforms and voted against final adjournment.

B. N. Anderson, 9th, Freeborn County.—One of the most extreme reactionaries; voted to seat Farrington; opposed the recall, woman suffrage, and voted for final adjournment; supported the distance tariff.

S. B. Bedford, 15th, Nobles County.—A quiet, determined, dependable progressive; opposed Farrington; voted for county option, woman suffrage; opposed the distance tariff and the Congdon scheme of reapportionment. Mr. Bedford was among the thirty-three who voted against final adjournment, but found themselves outweighed by a minority of thirty.

Henry N. Benson, 20th, Nicollet County.—Opposed the seating of Farrington; against county option, but was progressive on other issues, voting for election reforms and woman suffrage. Mr. Benson opposed the Congdon bill and was against final adjournment.

George C. Carpenter, 46th, Wright County.—Voted to seat Farrington and opposed county option; was a consistent and extreme reactionary on other issues, voting against the recall and to delay the passage of the state-wide primary on the crucial test; he opposed the distance tariff, woman suffrage and voted for final adjournment.

Thomas E. Cashman, 8th, Steele County.—Insurgent leader; was one of the two Democrats to vote against Farrington; supported county option, woman suffrage and all election reforms; was against the scheme of the politicians to force final adjournment. Senator Cashman introduced his distance tariff bill for the third time and nearly passed it through the Senate after one of the most strenuous legislative battles in the history of the state.

Frank Clague, 19th, Redwood County.—Voted against Farrington, but opposed county option and was unprogressive on election reforms, voting for the motion which defeated the state-wide primary and against woman suffrage; voted against the Congdon bill. Mr. Clague was one of the leaders in the fight against the distance tariff.

Julius A. Coller, 26th, Scott County.—One of the most active for Farrington and led in the fight against county option; also opposed woman suffrage and voted against the state-wide primary on the last test. Mr. Coller was one of those who preferred final adjournment to action upon the important legislation which was pending.

C. F. Cook, 6th, Mower County.—Was the only member of the Committee on Elections to sign the minority report recommending the seating of Farrington; voted for woman suffrage and favored election reforms. Mr. Cook was for the distance tariff and opposed final adjournment.

L. O. Cooke, 3rd, Wabasha County.—One of the six extreme reactionaries who voted for both Stephens and Farrington; except for a vote in favor of the distance tariff Mr. Cooke was unprogressive from start to finish, voting against the recall, the state-wide primary, county option and woman suffrage; as a climax he voted for final adjournment.

O. G. Dale, 18th, Lac qui Parle County.—Opposed Farrington and voted for county option, woman suffrage, the distance tariff and state-wide primary. Mr. Dale was among the thirty-three who voted against final adjournment.

C. R. Donaldson, 24th, McLeod County.—Was an anti-county option Democrat and a progressive except in the Farrington case and on the question of woman suffrage; voted for the distance tariff, all election reforms and against final adjournment.

S. B. Duea, 16th, Rock County.—Opposed Farrington, but was against county option and opposed the state-wide primary on the crucial test and also voted against woman suffrage; he opposed the distance tariff, the Congdon bill and the last roll call on the question of adjournment found him still voting in the negative.

F. A. Duxbury, 1st, Houston County.—Led in the attempt to postpone the Stephens contest and seemed for Farrington, but voted against him; opposed county option, the distance tariff, the Congdon bill and the state-wide primary on the motion to concur in the House amendment; he voted for woman suffrage, but stood with the reactionaries on final adjournment.

S. J. Froshaug, 56th, Swift County.—The only Prohibitionist member of the Senate; was handicapped in his legislative work by having to fight the brewery combine for his seat, after being elected; voted for county option, woman suffrage, the distance tariff and election reforms. Mr. Froshaug is discussed in the chapter on the Farrington-Froshaug contest.

F. L. Glotzbach, 28th, Rice County.—Voted for both Stephens and Farrington; opposed county option and woman suffrage, but favored election reforms and the distance tariff; stood with the professional politicians for final adjournment.

C. J. Gunderson, 58th, Douglas County.—One of a few members of the Committee on Elections who bore the brunt of the battle for the integrity of the ballot in the Stephens and Farrington contests; was one of the ablest insurgent leaders and fought for moral and fundamental reforms throughout the session; supported county option, woman suffrage and the distance tariff; voted against final adjournment.

D. M. Gunn, 52nd, Itasca County.—Supported Farrington and stood for the whole reactionary program, voting against the recall, the Keefe bill, the state-wide primary, woman suffrage, the distance tariff, and stood for final adjournment.

A. L. Hanson, 61st, Norman County.—One of the most uncompromising progressives; voted against Farrington; was for county option, woman suffrage, the distance tariff and all election reforms; voted against final adjournment. Mr. Hanson went farther than any other Senator in voting against graft and extravagance.

Julius E. Haycraft, 13th, Watonwan County.—Insurgent leader; the seating of Froshaug and Saugstad is due largely to his able and con-

scientious work as chairman of Committee on Elections; also played a conspicuous and patriotic part in the defeat of the Congdon reapportionment scheme; supported county option, woman suffrage, the distance tariff and was especially active in election reforms; opposed final adjournment.

C. D. Johnson, 48th, Crow Wing County.—Was one of the six who dared to vote for both Stephens and Farrington; supported Dick O'Connor to succeed Moses E. Clapp; voted twice against state-wide primary; opposed county option, but voted for woman suffrage; he stood with the thirty who outvoted the thirty-three and forced final adjournment.

V. L. Johnson, 32nd, Chisago County.—An active, clean, courageous progressive; opposed Farrington; was the author of the county option bill and supported woman suffrage; voted against the distance tariff and final adjournment.

James Johnston, 53rd, Todd County.—Voted to postpone the Stephens contest, and to seat Farrington; was against county option, woman suffrage and opposed the state-wide primary on the last test. Mr. Johnston had small influence, but could usually be depended upon to vote for the special interests. He was one of the thirty who wanted to adjourn.

Charles H. Klein, 25th, Carver County.—Opposed the seating of Farrington; was against county option, woman suffrage and the state-wide primary on the last test. Mr. Klein opposed the distance tariff and voted for final adjournment.

Olai A. Lende, 17th, Lyon County.—Insurgent leader; opposed Farrington and was in the forefront of the progressive group on all important questions; was especially interested in direct legislation, election reforms and questions like county option; supported woman suffrage and the distance tariff; made one of the most effective speeches against the Congdon bill. Mr. Lende is surpassed by few in ability and by none in his devotion to public interests.

M. J. McGrath, 2nd, Winona County.—Except for a vote in favor of Farrington his record is progressive; obedient to the wishes of his constituents he voted against the distance tariff, but supported woman suffrage and was especially active against the Congdon bill and in behalf of fundamental reforms like direct legislation, the state-wide primary and the Keefe bill.

Charles S. Marden, 60th, Clay County.—Supported the motion to delay the Stephens contest, but voted against Farrington; opposed county option, woman suffrage, the distance tariff and was ready to adjourn.

John Moonan, 10th, Waseca County.—Voted for Farrington, but performed excellent service for the people on other vital questions; was especially active in behalf of election reforms, being the author of the recall bill and a state-wide primary measure; he fought hard for the Keefe bill and opposed the Congdon reapportionment scheme with equal vigor; supported woman suffrage and the distance tariff.

Frank Murray, 22nd, Renville County.—Supported Farrington; opposed county option, woman suffrage and the state-wide primary at the crucial time; was the author of a measure providing for the North Dakota plan of electing United States Senators which might have defeated the Keefe bill.

S. A. Nelson, 5th, Fillmore County.—Opposed Farrington; supported county option, woman suffrage and the reapportionment bill, but was against the state-wide primary on the real test; he voted against final adjournment.

C. W. Odell, 55th, Kandiyohi County.—Opposed Farrington; supported county option, woman suffrage and election reforms; opposed the distance tariff and final adjournment.

A. C. Olson, 14th, Jackson County.—Voted to seat Farrington; opposed county option, the distance tariff and the state-wide primary on the motion to concur; he wanted to adjourn.

E. D. Peterson, 23rd, Meeker County.—Insurgent leader; one of the two Democrats to vote against Farrington; supported county option, woman suffrage, the distance tariff and all election reforms. Mr. Peterson was one of the most consistent and determined progressives.

A. A. Poehler, 21st, Sibley County.—One of the Stephens-Farrington combination; opposed county option, but voted for election reforms and the distance tariff; supported the motion to adjourn.

F. E. Putnam, 12th, Faribault County.—Performed excellent service on the Committee on Elections and aided substantially in the seating of Froshaug; supported county option, woman suffrage and the distance tariff; he opposed the state-wide primary on the last vote; did not want to adjourn.

A. J. Rockne, 29th, Goodhue County.—Opposed Farrington; voted for the distance tariff, but opposed woman suffrage, county option and the state-wide primary on the test vote; he voted to adjourn.

Edward Rustad, 57th, Traverse County.—Against Farrington and for county option; supported the distance tariff, woman suffrage and the Congdon bill; opposed state-wide primary on the last test and voted for final adjournment.

Ole O. Sageng, 59th, Ottertail County.—The only populist Senator; one of the ablest insurgents; took a leading part against Farrington and Stephens; author of woman suffrage bill; for county option and all fundamental reforms. Mr. Sageng was one of the thirty-three.

John Saugstad, 62nd, Polk County.—Insurgent leader; had to fight the "old guard" for his seat in the senate; against Farrington. Mr. Saugstad was one of the best equipped and most influential progressives.

Albert Schaller, 30th, Dakota County.—One of the Stephens-Farrington combination; opposed county option, but supported woman suffrage; voted to delay the passage of the state-wide primary, but was against final adjournment.

A. T. Stebbins, 4th, Olmstead County.—A dependable reactionary; voted to postpone the Stephens contest and to seat Farrington; opposed county option, the distance tariff and the state-wide primary on the motion which killed it; was eager to adjourn.

G. H. Sullivan, 31st, Washington County.—For both Stephens and Farrington; voted against county option, woman suffrage, the recall, the Keefe bill, state-wide primary and the distance tariff; active in behalf of the Congdon bill; was regarded as the reactionary floor leader.

J. D. Sullivan, 47th, Stearns County.—Favored Farrington; opposed county option, woman suffrage, and the distance tariff; voted for the Congdon bill and final adjournment.

B. E. Sundberg, 63rd, Kittson County.—One of the most consistent and conscientious insurgents; opposed Farrington; for county option, woman suffrage and all fundamental reforms. The state never had a more patriotic legislator.

C. J. Swanson, 45th, Anoka County.—Opposed Farrington, county option, woman suffrage, the distance tariff, and the state-wide primary when that measure was defeated; was willing to adjourn.

F. J. Thoe, 7th, Dodge County.—Insurgent; opposed Farrington; for county option, woman suffrage and election reforms; was against final adjournment.

Harry F. Weis, 27th, Le Sueur County.—For Farrington; against county option and woman suffrage; was for the distance tariff and election reforms; stood with the reactionaries for adjournment.

S. D. Works, 11th, Blue Earth County.—A leader of the Stephens-Farrington combination and voted for both; opposed county option and woman suffrage; has a bad reactionary record except on election issues and the distance tariff.

CHAPTER XIX.

A FINAL WORD.

This little volume may seem to be a pessimistic portrayal of legislative conditions. Perhaps it is. I have deliberately aimed to suggest the unwholesome phases of the session—the things about which the people should have information. There were many beneficent influences and results. Those have not been emphasized because they are normal. The public has a right to expect that legislators shall labor for the general good. It is only when they take the opposite course, and serve the purposes of special privilege and political plunder, that the voters should know in order that there may be reproof and change.

Mr. Klemer and Dr. Stone were worth their weight in gold. It required just such a performance as their clash with the reactionary organization to arouse the electorate to a realization of the corrupt conditions. And the heroic efforts of those two were seconded, although in not the same sensational way, by the almost daily samples of plain talk from men like J. N. Johnson, W. I. Nolan, Clinton Robinson, and Ole Sageng.

The big problem is to get the facts before the people. The press has the power to completely change conditions in a year. Such feeble efforts at enlightenment as this would be wholly unnecessary if some of the newspapers would do their duty.

The public should insist upon a few fundamental reforms within the legislature:

First—A constitutional amendment limiting the time for the introduction of bills to the first thirty days of the session.

Second—Standing committees should not be permitted to keep business away from the House and Senate for more than fifteen days. This rule should be free from jokers.

Third—The number of standing committees should be reduced to not more than twenty. Then "packing" would be impossible.

Fourth—The "Third House" should be reduced about two-thirds, to a basis of utility.

Fifth—Supplies, except printing, should be eliminated entirely. If certain purchases are necessary, each member should be given $10 for incidentals.

Either the Senate or the House might well be abolished. In all my observations, extending through several sessions, I have never seen the least excuse or need for the two bodies. On the other hand, the existence of an upper and lower branch makes possible the "team work" which has been used so often and so effectively against the people. I would do away with the Senate. There is already too much "check" in the chief executive and the courts.

It is always darkest just before the dawn. Politically, conditions must be bad before they can be better. Viewed in the light of its neglected opportunities to enact in the interest of the people, the last legislature was the worst in the history of the state. No previous session ever had to defeat so many vital reforms, which is in itself the surest sign of progress. The special interests and political plunderers had to fight as never before. They were forced into the last ditch on every issue. Had the insurgents captured the organization of the House and had there been a Klemer in the Senate, almost the whole progressive program would have been enacted.

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Judge of District Court—	
Member of Congress—ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD, Republican	Vote For One
Member of Congress—	
State Senator—THOMAS J. McELLIGOTT, Republican	Vote For One
State Senator—RAY G. FARRINGTON, Democrat	
State Senator—S. J. FROSHAUG, Prohibition	X
State Senator—	
Representative to Legislature —KNUTE KNUTSON, Republican	Vote For One
Representative to Legislature —HOMER SIGLER, Democrat	X
Representative to Legislature—	
County Auditor—D. P. CARNEY, Democrat	X Vote For One
County Auditor—	
County Treasurer—CHAS. E. WELSH, Republican	X Vote For One
County Treasurer—I. B. ANDERSON, Democrat	
County Treasurer—	
Register of Deeds—H. C. ODNEY, Republican	X Vote For One
Register of Deeds—	
Sheriff—O. P. JOHNSON, Republican	Vote For One
Sheriff—J. P. VANSLYKE, Democrat	X
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